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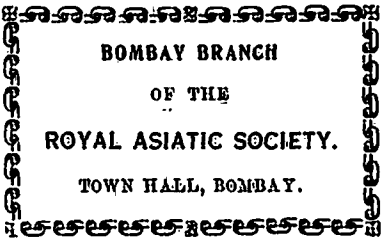

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Report

of the

Bombay Strike Enquiry Committee, 1928-29

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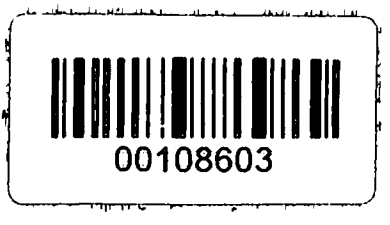
Volume I

REPORT



BOMBAY
PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT CENTRAL PRESS
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NOTE.

The estimated cost of the Bombay Strike Enquiry Committee is as follows :—

	Rs.
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(2) Travelling allowance (including daily allowance) ..	3,350
(3) Contingencies	600
Total ..	37,250

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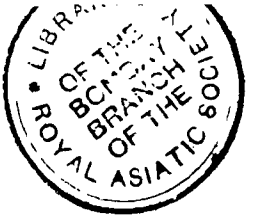

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CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

1. The Bombay Strike Enquiry Committee was appointed by the Resolution of the Government of Bombay in the General Department, No. 7219, dated the 13th October 1928, which is reproduced below :—

APPOINTMENT OF THE COMMITTEE.

"As a condition of immediate resumption of work by the Bombay Mill strikers, the Government of Bombay agreed to the appointment of an impartial Committee of Enquiry consisting of three members for the permanent settlement of the dispute.

"2. His Excellency the Governor in Council is now pleased to appoint with effect from the 13th October 1928 the following as members of the Committee :—

(1) The Honourable Sir Charles Fawcett, Kt., I.C.S., Chairman.
(2) M. P. Khareghat, Esquire, I.C.S. (retired) } Members.
(3) B. S. Kamat, Esquire }

Mr. N. A. Mehrban, Investigator, Labour Office, should act as Secretary to the Committee.

THE TERMS OF REFERENCE.

"3. The terms of reference which the Committee should be asked to consider are :

(*a*) Whether the amended scheme of a standardized schedule of rates and of a standardized muster prepared by the Millowners' Association, and also the scheme prepared by the Strike Committee is fair and reasonable.

(*b*) Whether the Seventeen Demands advanced by the Strike Committee are fair and reasonable and to what extent, if any, they should be met.

(*c*) Whether the Standing Orders for operatives as amended and presented by the Millowners' Association on the 4th October 1928 are fair and reasonable.

"4. The Committee should be requested to submit their report to Government as soon as possible."

2. Full details in connection with the General Strike in the textile mills in Bombay City, which commenced on the 16th April 1928 in 10 mills under the agency of Messrs. Currimbhoy Ibrahim & Sons employing a total number of 20,262 workers, and which spread by the 26th April to all textile mills in the City with the exception of the Colaba Land and Jehangir Wadia Mills at Colaba, are contained in the monthly articles published in the *Labour Gazette* under the heading "Industrial Disputes in the Presidency" from April 1928 to November 1928 and

BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE GENERAL STRIKE.

in a special article published in the October issue under the heading " General Strike in the Textile Mills in the Bombay City ".

3. According to that account, the strike commenced without any warning whatever and its spread in almost all the mills in the City was largely due to intimidation and stone-throwing, which compelled most mill Managers to close down their mills. No demands were formulated by the men prior to going on strike, and no statement was submitted to the owners for redress of specific grievances. To all intents and purposes the strike was a lightning strike, and, to use the words of the *Labour Gazette* for May 1928 at page 752, " owing to the strenuous propaganda carried on by certain labour leaders in favour of a general strike by holding mass meetings and intimidating the operatives in the working mills, the number of mills closed began to increase steadily from the 23rd, and by the 26th all the cotton mills in Bombay City except one had to be closed and nearly 1½ lakhs of textile workers were thrown out of employment". This, however, should not be taken to mean that the men had no grievances. Had it been otherwise, it would not have been possible for a handful of men to keep so many workers on strike for a period amounting very nearly to six months.

TEXTILE TRADE UNIONS IN BOMBAY PRIOR TO STRIKE.

4. Immediately prior to the General Strike, there were 5 Unions of textile workers in Bombay City : (1) the Bombay Textile Labour Union, formed in January 1926, and registered under the Indian Trade Unions Act on the 23rd December 1927, with a membership of 8,234 as at 1st March 1928 ; (2) the Girni Kamgar Mahamandal (Prabhadevi Mandal), formed in August 1925, with a membership of 1,270 on the 1st March ; (3) the Girni Kamgar Mahamandal (Ghorupdeo Mandal), formed in December 1925 with 570 members as at 1st March ; (4) the Girni Kamgar Mahamandal (Chinchpokli Mandal), formed in December 1923, with 182 members as at 1st March ; and (5) the Bombay Mill Workers' Union, formed in March 1928, with a membership of 300. The executive of the Bombay Textile Labour Union was composed of the President, Mr. N. M. Joshi, M.L.A., J.P. ; six Vice-Presidents, Messrs. R. S. Asavale, M.L.C., J.P. ; F. J. Ginwala, M.A., LL.B., M.L.C.; S. A. Brelvi, M.A., LL.B. ; S. H. Jhabvala, B.A. ; S. K. Bole, M.L.C., J.P. ; and Moulvi Abur Rauf Khan Saheb ; with Mr. R. R. Bakhale, of the Servants of India Society, as its General Secretary ; and Mr. Syed Munawar, B.A., M.L.C., as its Organising Secretary.

5. The two Mandals of Prabhadevi and Chinchpokli, although they had separate executives with their own Presidents, were conducted on a basis of unification as far as finances were concerned. The head office, for the purpose of finances, was located at Prabhadevi Mandal, of which Mr. Arjun Atmaram Alve was President and Mr. Dattaram Ramchandra Mayekar Secretary. The Chinchpokli Mandal, of which Mr. D. A. Bhatavedekar was President, maintained a separate entity. According to the constitution of these Mandals, no outsiders were to be admitted as members of their executives, which were to be confined entirely to actual workers in the mills.

6. The Bombay Mill Workers' Union was started during the month immediately prior to the strike by Mr. S. H. Jhabvala, as a countermove to the Bombay Textile Labour Union, in view of its executive having opposed him in a proposal, which he mooted during the strike that took place early in the year in the mills under the control of Messrs. E. D. Sassoon & Co. This was for calling a general strike in the whole industry in Bombay, to enforce the demand for a withdrawal of the introduction of double-frame and three-loom working.

7. In addition to the above Unions, there was the Workers' and Peasants' Party. This is stated at page 147 of the *Labour Gazette* for October 1928 to be a communist organisation, which had not previously been prominent in the textile labour movement in Bombay. Its members, although not directly associated with any of the five unions of textile workers in Bombay, began to take an active interest in the strikes during the earlier part of the year. They combined with the Bombay Mill Workers' Union as soon as the trouble began in the 10 mills under the agency of Messrs. Currimbhoy Ibrahim & Sons on the 16th April, and were successful in persuading Mr. A. A. Alve, the President of the Prabhadevi Mandal, to join hands with them in bringing about a general strike. Mr. D. R. Mayekar, the Secretary of the Prabhadevi Mandal, and the Bombay Textile Labour Union did not associate themselves in any way whatever with the movement at the beginning. At a meeting of the strikers held on the 18th April it was decided to form a Strike Committee composed of the Managing Committees of the Prabhadevi Mandal and the Bombay Mill Workers Union together with Messrs. Bradley, Nimbkar, Dange and Mirajkar from the Workers' and Peasants' Party. This Strike Committee was composed of 85 members. An " Inner Council " for executive action was formed, consisting of Messrs. Alve, Nimbkar, Dange, Mirajkar, Ghate and Jhabvala. On the 19th April, the Bombay Textile Labour Union also appointed a Strike Committee consisting of 11 members, to enquire into and formulate the grievances of the men. Owing to wide differences in views between the two Strike Committees regarding the advisability of a general strike, at first the two Committees failed to combine. One difficulty with regard to the composition of a Joint Strike Committee representing both sections was the question of the manner in which the Committee should be constituted, as regards representation of the different unions. The Bombay Textile Labour Union proposed that the Committee should be constituted on a proportionate basis in accordance with the average paying membership of each organisation during the 12 months ending 31st March 1928. As this proposal would have given the effective control of the strike to the Bombay Textile Labour Union, the larger Strike Committee would not agree to it. Eventually, a compromise was effected on the basis of an equal representation from both sides, and a Joint Strike Committee consisting of 30 members was formed on the 2nd May. The Bombay Textile Labour Union was represented by Messrs. N. M. Joshi, Syed Munawar, F. J. Ginwala.

EXTENT OF COMBINATION AMONG UNIONS WHEN STRIKE COMMENCED.

FORMATION OF THE JOINT STRIKE COMMITTEE.

R. S. Asavale, S. S. Parulekar and 10 workers, and the Bombay Mill Workers' Union and the Workers' and Peasants' Party were represented by Messrs. Dange, Mirajkar, Bradley, Nimbkar, Alve and 10 workers. Messrs. Bradley and Parulekar were appointed treasurers, and Messrs. Nimbkar and Syed Munawar, Honorary Secretaries to the Committee.

REGISTRATION OF UNIONS.

8. Early in May, Mr. D. R. Mayekar, the Secretary of the Prabhadevi Mandal, called a meeting of his followers and elected a new Managing Committee for a combined union of the three Mandals called the Girni Kamgar Mahamandal, which was registered under the Trade Unions Act on the 21st May. Mr. A. A. Alve thereupon formed a new union under the name of the Bombay Girni Kamgar Union, with himself as President, and Messrs. Jhabvala, Bradley and Nimbkar as Vice-Presidents, Mr. Dange as General Secretary and Mr. K. N. Joglekar as one of the three Secretaries. This union was registered under the Trade Unions Act on the 23rd May.

PUBLICATION OF THE "SEVENTEEN DEMANDS".

9. On the 3rd May 1928, the Joint Strike Committee published a list of terms to be conceded by the Millowners, which has now come to be known as "the Seventeen Demands" and which forms one of the items submitted to us for consideration. But we may state here that many of these demands were not put forward for the first time when they were so formulated. During the few months immediately preceding the general strike, there were several strikes in individual mills and in groups of mills in connection with one or more of the grievances submitted in the "Seventeen Demands" for removal. The following table gives in a summary form the main facts with regard to each of the sixteen strikes that occurred between August 1927 and May 1928 on definite questions concerning alleged reduction in rates of wages, increase in hours of work, introduction of new methods of work for increasing efficiency in accordance with the recommendation of the "Indian Tariff Board" (Cotton Textile Industry Enquiry), extension of the ticket system to weavers, etc.:—

STRIKES PRECEDING THE GENERAL STRIKE.

Name of Mill	Approximate No. of workpeople involved		Date when dispute		Cause	Result
	Directly	Indirectly	Began	Ended		
			1927	*1927*		
Apollo Mill ..	427	1,823	1st Aug.	2nd Sept.	Introduction of a new system of working by which each weaver is to work on 3 looms instead of 2.	The strike ended in favour of the employers.
Manchester Mill ..	400	800	5th Aug.	1st Sept.	Do. ..	Do.
Moon Mills ..	125	..	15th Oct.	18th Oct.	Alleged reduction in rates of wages.	Do.

Name of Mill	Approximate No. of workpeople involved		Date when dispute		Cause	Result
	Directly	Indirectly	Began	Ended		
E. D. Sassoon Group of Mills			*1928*	*1928*		
Jacob Sasoon Mill Apollo Mill David Mill No. 1 David Mill No. 2 E. D. Sassoon and Alexandra Mills Rachel Sassoon Mill Elphinstone Spinning and Weaving Mill Meyer Sassoon Mill	2,085	12,102	2nd Jan.	25th Feb.	Proposed introduction of new method of work in accordance with recommendations of the Textile Tariff Board.	The strike ended in favour of the employers.
Spring Mill ..	800	4,200	2nd Jan.	16th Jan.	Introduction of a new system of working by which each spinner is to work spindles on both sides of the spinning frame instead of on one side.	Strike ended in a compromise.
Do. ..	100	..	31st Jan. .	6th Feb. .	Reduction in rates of wages.	Strike ended in favour of the employers.
Kohinoor Mill ..	70	..	2nd Feb. .	8th Feb. .	Increase in working hours.	Do.
Madhowji Dharamsi Mill.	600	2,185	20th Feb..	5th Mar. .	Proposed reduction in rates of wages.	Do.
Textile Mill ..	150	..	21st Feb. .	25th Feb..	Proposed discontinuance of granting free railway passes to spinners.	Do.
Rachel Sassoon Mill.	260	..	3rd Mar. .	4th Mar. .	Increase in working hours.	Do.
Pearl Mill ..	832	..	12th Mar..	17th Mar..	Alleged reduction in the rates of wages.	Do.
Morarji Gokuldas Mill.	920	..	14th Mar..	20th Mar..	Do. ..	Do.
Textile Mill ..	700	2,600	17th Mar..	3rd Apr. .	Discontinuance of the system of engaging *budlis* in place of absent workers.	Do.
Simplex Mill ..	700	2,300	26th Mar..	11th Apr..	Alleged reduction in the rates of wages.	Do.
Kastoorchand Mill	525	1,675	3rd Apr. .	24th Apr..	Refusal to revise the rates for weaving blankets.	Merged into the general strike.
Textile Mill ..	700	2,783	7th Apr. .	24th Apr..	Refusal of weavers to drop tickets in the ticket box and to clean machinery every day.	Do.

10. It will be seen from the above table that in all instances prior to April 1928 the strikes ended in favour of the employers, except in one case where it resulted in a compromise. The efforts made by Messrs. E. D. Sassoon and Company to introduce the three loom system instead of the two loom system generally prevalent in the Bombay mills, in their Manchester and Apollo Mills in August 1927, and the double frame working in the Spinning Department in all the mills under their agency in January 1928, were both successful after strikes lasting for a month or two. From these and other strikes, the main grievances of the workers prior to the General Strike may, we think, be summarised under the following four heads :—

MAIN GRIEVANCES OF WORKERS PRIOR TO GENERAL STRIKE.

(1) Direct cut in wages.

(2) Reduction in monthly earnings owing to the following indirect causes :

(*a*) Introduction of new varieties of cloth at rates which did not bring the level of wages to those earned on the production of the old sorts ;

(*b*) Reduction of piece-rates to meet unanticipated high production by individual operatives ;

(*c*) Adjustments in rates made to bring them in line with the rates prevailing in other mills ;

(*d*) No adjustments made to increase rates in cases where mills went on finer counts ;

(*e*) Introduction of artificial silk and inferior raw material ;

(*f*) Gradual withdrawal of bonuses such as good attendance and efficiency bonus, free railway passes to workers, etc. ;

(*g*) Introduction of a method of paying wages on the weight of the cloth after it had undergone a subsequent process, instead of on the actual weight produced on the looms ;

(3) The introduction of new methods of work, involving a reduction in the number of operatives employed, notably in the Sassoon Group (*i.e.*, three loom and double frame working) and the fear of the spread of this system to other mills in the City.

(4) The increase in the hours of work of mechanics in some Mills from 8½ hours to 10 hours per day, and the declaration of a general intention to level up the hours of work for all mill operatives in all mills to 10 hours per day.

11. In addition to the above, there were several minor grievances in connection with the infliction of fines, dismissals, the practice of handing over spoilt cloth to the weavers in lieu of wages, etc. It would, we think, serve no useful purpose to go at length into the exact causes of the General Strike, or to attempt to apportion blame for it on either side. There were no doubt various contributory causes, but in our opinion

it can be safely said that the chief reason for its commencement and continuation for a period of nearly six months was the fear of unemployment created by the new methods of work introduced by Messrs. E. D. Sassoon and Company in their mills.

CHIEF REASON FOR GENERAL STRIKE.

12. On the 12th May, the Millowners' Association issued a statement to the press, giving categorical replies to each of the "Seventeen Demands" of the Joint Strike Committee (see Appendix I). On the 17th May the Millowners' Association published a statement, defining the terms on which they would re-open the mills affiliated to their association and readmit their employees to work. The following are the six broad heads under which they grouped these terms :—

MILLOWNERS' REPLY TO "17 DEMANDS".

MILLOWNERS' TERMS FOR REOPENING MILLS.

(1) Standardized rates of wages ;

(2) Revised and Standardized Muster Rolls ;

(3) Full ten hours' work for all male operatives in all departments, without extra remuneration to those who had been doing work for less time previously ;

(4) Standardized rules and regulations for enforcing discipline ;

(5) Uniform system of calculating wages ; and

(6) Fines to be credited to a welfare fund ; and unclaimed wages to be made available at any time on sufficient identification.

The details in connection with these terms will be found in Appendix II.

13. His Excellency the Governor of Bombay came down to Bombay from Mahableshwar on the 27th April and granted separate interviews to the representatives of the Millowners, the Bombay Textile Labour Union and the Girni Kamgar Mahamandal. The Millowners' Association, who had hitherto not recognised any union of textile workers in Bombay City, gave their assurance to His Excellency that they would be prepared to receive representatives of registered trade unions with a view to opening negotiations for a settlement of the dispute. The General Member of the Government of Bombay (Sir Cowasji Jehangir, Jr., Kt., O.B.E.) came down to Bombay on the 15th May and met deputations from the Millowners and the Joint Strike Committee with a view to smooth the way for a round table conference. The Millowners would not agree to enter into any discussion with the Communist members of the Committee, and the Strike Committee were equally adamant in adhering to their view that, if a round table conference were to be held at all, the Committee as a whole would nominate the members to it, and that they would not be dictated to in the matter by the owners. The registration of the Girni Kamgar Mahamandal, the Bombay Millworkers' Union and the Bombay Girni Kamgar Union, with one or more of which every member of the Joint Strike Committee was connected, paved the way for a round table

EFFORTS MADE BY THE GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY TO END THE STRIKE.

conference, in accordance with the pledge given by the Millowners Association to His Excellency on the 27th April. Meanwhile, the Millowners' Association submitted the draft of their proposed standardized orders for operatives, which they intended to introduce in all their mills. These Standing Orders underwent several changes before assuming the form in which they were presented to the joint conference on the 4th October 1928, and in which they have been referred to us for consideration (see Appendix III). Four meetings between the representatives of the Millowners' Association and the Joint Strike Committee were held during June, but no settlement was arrived at. Mr. S. K. Bole, M.L.C., moved a resolution in the Bombay Legislative Council on the 8th August, asking Government to refer the dispute to a Conciliation Board, who should hold an enquiry in accordance with terms of reference to be agreed upon by both parties. In replying to this resolution Government announced that they would call a conference of the representatives of the Millowners' Association and the Strike Committee in order to ascertain whether they would agree to refer the dispute to a Court of Enquiry. A joint conference was accordingly held at the Secretariat under the Chairmanship of the Honourable the General Member, Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatallah, on the 15th and 16th August ; but it broke down, as the Labour leaders declined to call off the strike as a condition precedent to the appointment of a Committee of Enquiry. The Press Note issued by the Director of Information and Labour Intelligence regarding this conference has been published on pages 1044 and 1045 in the August 1928 issue of the *Labour Gazette.*

PUBLICATION OF DRAFT STANDING ORDERS.

PROPOSED COURT OF ENQUIRY.

14. Following the breakdown of this conference, Dr. G. V. Deshmukh, President of the Bombay Municipal Corporation, made many attempts to bring about a settlement of the strike in a manner acceptable to both parties. He held several private conferences with individual members of the Joint Strike Committee, the Millowners' Association and members of the public and drew up several alternative schemes from time to time, none of which, however, were accepted by the Millowners' Association. The representatives of the Millowners' Association and the Joint Strike Committee again held several conferences about the end of September, which finally broke up, mainly over the question of the proposed reduction in the wages of weavers. The Honourable Sir Ghulam Hussain thereupon called another joint conference of the representatives of both parties under his chairmanship for 4th October. At this conference a settlement was reached on the basis of the appointment of a Committee of Enquiry by Government, and it was agreed that work should be resumed on Saturday the 6th October. A copy of the Press Note issued by the Director of Information on the conference is contained in Appendix IV.

INTERVENTION OF THE PRESIDENT, BOMBAY MUNICIPAL CORPORATION.

THE SETTLEMENT OF 4TH OCTOBER 1928.

15. The Committee assembled in Bombay on Tuesday, the 16th October 1928, but the Chairman and the Secretary took charge of their duties on the 13th October. At the request of the Chairman, Mr. J. F. Gennings, Barrister-at-Law, Director of Information and Labour Intelligence, met the Committee of the Millowners' Association on Monday the 15th October in order to ascertain the views of the Association with regard to the procedure to be adopted by the Committee in conducting their enquiry. The Secretary of the Committee interviewed Mr. N. M. Joshi, M.L.A., President of the Bombay Textile Labour Union, and the chief spokesman of the Joint Strike Committee, on Sunday, the 14th October in the same connection. After considering the opinions given, the Committee invited a limited number of representatives from the Millowners' Association and the Joint Strike Committee to a private sitting held on the 18th October, at which the procedure to be followed by the Committee was settled.

PROCEDURE FOLLOWED BY THE COMMITTEE.

16. With regard to the question of the position of those mills which are not members of the Millowners' Association, the Bombay Industrial Mills, the Bombay Cotton Mills, the Ruby Mills and the Mysore Spinning and Manufacturing Co. (formerly known as the Birla Mills), agreed to be bound by the Millowners' Association and to be represented by the Association at our enquiry. The Toyo Podar Mill, the only mill in Bombay City under Japanese control, submitted two separate written statements, but agreed to adopt the recommendations of the Committee on the Terms of Reference. The Jam Mills agreed to be represented by the Association with regard to the Standing Orders, but they stated that they would prefer a direct cut of some percentage to be made in the pre-strike wages to a scheme of a Standardized Schedule of rates and a Standardized Muster as prepared by the Millowners' Association. The Presidency Mills did not reply to our enquiry and they took no part in the proceedings.

POSITION OF MILLS NOT MEMBERS OF THE MILLOWNERS' ASSOCIATION.

17. The Millowners' Association submitted their general written statement on the 25th October, and a separate written statement on the "Rational" or "Efficiency" Standardization Scheme proposed for the Mills under the agencies of Messrs. E. D. Sassoon & Co., Ltd., and Messrs. James Finlay & Co., and for the Kohinoor Mill, on the 20th November. The Joint Strike Committee submitted the following four separate written statements on the dates mentioned against each :—

WRITTEN STATEMENTS SUBMITTED.

1. Statement on the Standing Orders for operatives as proposed by the Millowners' Association (25th October).
2. Statement showing that a wage cut is undesirable and unnecessary (26th October).
3. Statement on the Millowners' Scheme for a Standardized Schedule of Rates (29th October).

4. Statement on the three-looms and two-frames systems (31st October).

In addition to the above, written statements and memoranda were submitted by the following eight persons :—

1. Miss I. Wingate, Industrial Secretary, National Committee, Young Women's Christian Association, India, Burma and Ceylon ;
2. Mr. N. G. Hunt, Governing Director, Messrs. Greaves Cotton & Co., Ltd. ;
3. Mr. C. N. Moberly, General Manager, Bombay Electric Supply and Tramways Co., Ltd. ;
4. Mr. J. Addyman, Manager, Bombay Woollen Mills ;
5. Mr. V. A. Fernandez, Head of the Textile Department, Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute ;
6. Mr. P. G. Sahasrabudhe ;
7. Mr. S. H. Jhabvala, Trade Unionist ; and
8. Mr. Sorabjee Merwanji Solai, ex-Carding and Spinning Master, Bombay.

PUBLIC SITTINGS.

18. The public sittings of the Committee commenced on Monday the 29th October 1928 and continued till Friday the 15th February 1929, with one long adjournment during the Christmas Holidays, from the 17th December to the 3rd January, granted to enable the representatives from the Joint Strike Committee to attend various Congresses, and some shorter adjournments granted for the purpose of preparing their cases, for joint deliberation which resulted in a settlement of certain points, or on grounds of convenience, to either the Association or the Joint Strike Committee or both. Forty-seven public sittings in all were held, of which 29 were full-day sittings and 18 half-day sittings. During the course of our enquiry, we examined 106 witnesses in all, not including those witnesses examined in connection with complaints. Out of these, 33 witnesses were connected with the Agency Offices of groups of or individual mills and were called either by the Association or the Joint Strike Committee ; 57 were workers called either by the Association or by the Bombay Textile Labour Union and the Bombay Girni Kamgar Union, of whom 42 were men and 15 women, 3 witnesses were connected with different Trade Unions in Bombay City, and 13 were persons not connected either with the Cotton Textile Industry or Trade Unions. Out of the last 13 witnesses, Mr. Gennings, Director of Information and Labour Intelligence, was invited by the Committee, at the request of both parties, to give evidence in connection with the interpretation of the term " The question of Musters shall not arise," contained in the Agreement of the 4th October 1928. Three witnesses (Messrs. B. J. Whitby of Messrs. A. F. Ferguson & Co., Chartered

WITNESSES EXAMINED.

Accountants; J. P. Dutia, Technical Adviser to the Trade Mission; and A. J. Turner, Principal of the Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute) were called by the Millowners' Association. The Joint Strike Committee asked us to invite the representatives of the G. I. P. Railway Workshops, the Workshops and the Conservancy Department of the Bombay Municipality, and the Bombay Electric Supply and Tramways Co., Ltd. These concerns were represented by Mr. G. E. Williams; Mr. E. G. Cameron and Dr. Sandilands; and Mr. C. N. Moberly. Messrs. N. G. Hunt, the Governing Director of Messrs. Greaves Cotton & Co., Ltd., J. Addyman, M.L.C., the Manager of the Bombay Woollen Mills, V. A. Fernandez, the head of the Textile Department of the Textile Institute, and Miss I. Wingate, the Industrial Secretary, National Committee of the Young Women's Christian Association, appeared as witnesses before us at our invitation. Mr. S. M. Solai, an ex-Carding and Spinning Master, submitted a written statement to us of his own accord, and was invited by us for oral examination. It was not considered necessary to examine Mr. P. G. Sahasrabudhe and Mr. S. H. Jhabvala, who also submitted written statements of their own accord. The names and designations of all the witnesses who gave evidence before us is contained in Table I of Appendix V.

REPRESENTATION OF PARTIES.

19. The Millowners' Association was represented at our sittings by Mr. S. D. Saklatvala, Chairman of the Sub-Committee appointed by the Association in connection with our enquiry, Sir Manmohandas Ramji, and Messrs. F. Stones and T. Watts, with Mr. B. K. Mantry as Secretary until the return of Mr. T. Maloney, the permanent Secretary of the Association, from England in January. The Joint Strike Committee was at first represented by Messrs. N. M. Joshi, M.L.A., R. S. Asavale, M.L.C., S. A. Dange and Mahomed Umar Rajub. Mr. R. R. Bakhale, the General Secretary of the Bombay Textile Labour Union, who returned from Europe on the 15th November, replaced Mr. N. M. Joshi, who was unable to attend the sittings of the Committee from the 26th November owing to illness. Both the Association and the Joint Strike Committee were represented by some other members of their respective Committees from time to time. Mr. Caroe of Messrs. Craigie Blunt & Caroe, Solicitors and Notaries Public, and Mr. S. C. Joshi, M.A., LL.B., Advocate, M.L.C., were present during the discussions on the Standing Orders, as the legal advisers of the Millowners' Association and the Joint Strike Committee respectively. Mr. P. Baptist, a retired Mill-Manager, attended a few of our sittings as the technical adviser to the Joint Strike Committee.

INSTITUTES AND MILLS VISITED.

20. During the course of our enquiry, we visited the Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute and the Jacob Sassoon Mill on two occasions and eight other mills in order to acquaint ourselves with the technical side of the working of a Cotton Mill and the conditions of work and employment of the operatives. Out of the nine Mills visited, two mills were following the "Rational" or "Efficiency" method of

working only in the Spinning Section and one Mill both in the Spinning and the Weaving Departments. The list of the Mills and Institutes visited by us is given in Table II of Appendix V.

COMPLAINTS.

21. Nineteen complaints in all were submitted to us in connection with actual or alleged breaches of the agreement of the 4th October. Out of these, three were submitted by the Millowners' Association, and the rest by the Joint Strike Committee. A précis of all the complaints dealt with is given in Appendix VI.

SCHEME OF THE REPORT.

22. We first take up for discussion the parts of our Enquiry that we completed first, *viz.*, the Standing Orders for operatives, and the Seventeen Demands. Chapter II deals with the former, and Chapter III with the latter. In Chapter IV we detail the history of the proposal to standardize wages in the Bombay mills and discuss some general questions regarding it. In Chapter V we discuss the proposed cut in weavers' wages. In Chapter VI we consider the Millowners' Standardisation Scheme in detail. In view of the agreement arrived at in January and February 1929 as to this Scheme, it is unnecessary to deal separately with the similar scheme prepared by the Joint Strike Committee. In Chapter VII we deal with the modification of the Standardisation Scheme, which is called the "Rational" or (as we prefer to style it) "Efficiency" System. Chapter VIII contains a summary of our conclusions and recommendations.

CHAPTER II.

STANDING ORDERS.

HISTORY UNDERLYING THE PROPOSED STANDING ORDERS.

23. The question of standardising the various rules in the mills regarding the conditions of employment of operatives arose at an early stage of the general strike, and has already been referred to in Chapter I. The Joint Strike Committee in May 1928 included in their demands one that the conditions of employment, work and payment should be standardised (No. 10), and another that all the rules that are usually posted in the mills or departments should be standardised by the Millowners' Association so that they shall be uniform in all the mills (No. 15). In reply, the committee of the Association answered that they agreed that there should be such standardisation, and said that rules accordingly had been already formulated, and would be published in due course. Again, in the terms advanced by the Bombay Millowners' Association on the 16th of May 1928, they have stated that a new set of rules would be framed and would be put up at all mills in due course. Mr. Saklatvala stated that, for the purpose of preparing these Standing Orders, they obtained copies of the rules that existed in various mills, and that the draft was prepared with the assistance of Mr. Caroe, a Solicitor of the High Court. During the strike, the draft was discussed with some of the Labour representatives, and some of the proposed rules amended. The draft that is before us is the one finally presented by the Millowners' Association on the 4th of October 1928. Some proposals for amendments and additions were submitted to us by the Association on the 15th January 1929, but we are concerned primarily with the previous draft just mentioned.

GENERAL OBJECTIONS OF THE JOINT STRIKE COMMITTEE.

24. Before proceeding to a consideration of the rules in detail, the general remark made in the written statement of the Joint Strike Committee regarding the proposed Standing Orders needs notice. It is there said that, whereas the rules impose restrictions upon the conduct of the employees, there are very few restrictions put upon the employers, and that any plan for properly framed Standing Orders ought to treat both equally. They go on to say, " The Standing Orders provide penalty for the workers going late ; but not for the employers starting some machinery late or for not providing work in time or in sufficient quantity where the workers are paid by results. * * * * Again there is provision for penalty for the absence on the part of workers, but there is no provision for granting leave to workers. It is a misconduct on the part of the workers to be insubordinate but it is not a misconduct on the part of the Manager to treat the workers with discourtesy. These instances are sufficient to show the spirit in which the Standing Orders are drawn up." We think that these remarks

overlook the limitations which obviously apply to enunciating general conditions of employment, intended to enable an operative to know what are the main conditions affecting him (apart from the amount of his wages and the provisions of the Factory Act) and his liabilities for disobedience, etc. We are not considering the drafting of a general Labour Code, in which conditions regarding the duties of employers towards their employees might properly be inserted. Thus, various rules regarding the conduct of employers in carrying on factory work are laid down in the Indian Factory Act of 1911, such as rules regarding the health and safety of employees and their hours of employment and holidays.

OPINION OF THE COMMITTEE.

Clearly, provisions of this kind should not appear in the Standing Orders for operatives that have been submitted for our consideration. Even as regards other duties, it appears to us that it would be out of place to provide for them in a compilation of rules which is intended to inform operatives of the disciplinary and other conditions attaching to their employment, and has not as one of its aims the acquaintance of employers with their ordinary obligation to behave properly in their treatment of the employees. As we have said, it might have been different if we were considering the enactment of a general Code of Labour. As an instance of what we mean we may refer to the Labour Act* of 1923 passed by the State of Jalisco in Mexico. Section 16 of this Act contains a specification of the duties of employers towards the employees, covering no less than 22 different heads, one of which is that the employer shall treat the employees and their representatives with due consideration and respect. Section 18 similarly specifies the duties of the employee towards the employer under 8 different heads, one of which is a corresponding obligation to conduct himself properly and to treat the employer and his agent with due consideration and respect. But, in our opinion, it would be out of place to make provisions of this kind in the Standing Orders that we are considering. We do not, therefore, consider that the comment of the Joint Strike Committee on the spirit in which the Standing Orders have been drawn up is justified.

25. Another comment that has been made is that the rules are too elaborate. Reference has been made to the fact that the Mill Rules obtaining in Lancashire are only 5 in number, and relate only to the question of notice before terminating employment and of dismissal without notice. These are rules that were agreed upon by both the Employers' and the Workers' Organisations, and the presumption is that it has been found unnecessary to have any other agreed rules. But, in our opinion, it does not follow that the Standing Orders should be similarly restricted and, as already mentioned, the draft is based upon rules that are actually in operation in Bombay. It has not been shown to us that any of the rules are clearly superfluous, except that Nos. 16 and 20 overlap, and therefore we do not think that this comment is substantiated.

We now take up the Standing Orders seriatim.

*International Labour Office, Legislative Series, Vol. IV, 1923, Mex. 1.

Standing Order 1.

Date of Commencement.

26. "1. These Orders shall come into force as and from the 1928."

This merely specifies the date on which the rules are to come into operation, and needs no comment.

Standing Order 2.

Definitions.

27. "2. 'Operatives' means all workpeople, male or female employed in the mill and includes 'Jobbers'.

'The Company' means The (Mill) Company, Limited.

'The Manager' means the Company's Manager or Acting Manager for the time being.

'Masculine' includes 'feminine'."

The only objection which has been taken to this rule is that the employers may not, in all cases, be Companies, but may be a single individual, so that a definition of an employer may be necessary. The Millowners' Association reply that all the millowners in their Association are Companies, and that therefore no amendment of this rule is necessary. We agree with them. If, in the future, a case occurs in which a mill is owned not by a Company, then all that will be necessary is to substitute the words "the firm" for the words "the Company". Or, if the mill is owned by a single individual, the word "Owner" or "employer" can be substituted for the word "Company" in the rules.

28. It was stated that it is not intended by the Millowners' Association that the rules should apply to the clerical staff; and this seems to us sufficiently indicated by the use of the words "operatives" and "workpeople", *i.e.*, manual workers who are employed on a daily-earning basis.

29. It would be better if the Order began with the usual qualification contained in statutory definition-clauses, *viz.*, "In these Orders, unless there is anything repugnant in the subject or context." Thus the provision "Masculine includes feminine" would not apply to Order 11; and the provisions in Orders 14 and 15 about notice could not be properly applied to substitutes who are engaged for a few days at a time.

Standing Order 3.

Authority of the Manager.

30. "3. The decision of the Manager upon any question arising out of, in connection with, or incidental to these Orders shall be final, subject however to appeal to the Managing Agents."

Objection has been taken by the Joint Strike Committee to the Manager being made the sole judge, and to any taking away of the ordinary legal remedies of the employees. It has also been stated before us that it is undesirable that the Manager should decide such questions,

as he has a tendency to rely more upon the word of a subordinate than upon the word of a worker. This last objection is not, in our opinion, sufficient ground for depriving the Manager of a mill of his natural authority to decide questions that arise under the rules. In all business undertakings, the general rule is that the Manager is the final authority in regard to disciplinary matters affecting the employees, and it is unreasonable to suggest that questions arising should primarily be otherwise decided. The rule provides an appeal to the Managing Agents and, in this respect, is said to be in advance of many of the existing rules which allow no such review. It was in fact suggested in the closing discussion that the right of appeal should be restricted to cases where an important question of policy is involved. We think, however, that the present draft is preferable, and that there are obvious objections to restricting a right of appeal, not by the usual method of the amount of punishment awarded, but by a factor which would necessarily be of a controversial kind.

WHETHER IT CONTRAVENES SECTION 28, CONTRACT ACT.

31. As to the other objection, it seems clear that, if by the word "final" it is meant to exclude the employee from any right of resort to the courts, then this is contrary to the provisions of section 28 of the Indian Contract Act, 1872, which declares that any contract prohibiting any party from his ordinary right of resort to the courts is, to that extent, void, subject to certain exceptions. The first exception deals with the case of arbitration and, no doubt, if the Manager is regarded as an arbitrator in a dispute between the Company and an employee of the Company, the case could legitimately be held to fall under that exception. In fact, this was held to be applicable in a case between an employee of a Tramway Company whose manager had decided a question against him, see *Aghore Nauth Bannerjee* v. *The Calcutta Tramways Co., Ld.* (I. L. R. 11, Cal. 232). This followed a similar English ruling in *London Tramways Company* v. *Bailey* (L. R. 3 Q. B., 217). But in a later English case, *Armstrong* v. *the South London Tramways Company, Limited,* (1891, 64 L. T., 96), the Court of Appeal held that it was absurd to say that the particular agreement in that case, which was similar to the agreement in the previous Tramways case, was intended as a submission to arbitration. No doubt, as Mr. Caroe pointed out, it would be legal to provide for an operative contracting to treat the Manager as an arbitrator; but if this is intended, it should be clearly expressed, and the question would still remain whether it is reasonable to make such a provision. It is not shown to be one that is usual in the case of mills in Lancashire or elsewhere; and we think that it would be unfair to the operative to treat the Manager as an independent person who would be an impartial arbitrator between him and the Company. He really represents the Company or its Managing Agents as a head agent, and he is not in a position analogous to that of an engineer or architect who is often appointed to arbitrate between a contractor and the person who employs him. We think, therefore, that, if the provision about the finality of the Manager's order is retained, some words should be added to this rule, to make it

clear that the case would fall under section 28 of the Indian Contract Act, such as " and without prejudice to any right of an operative aggrieved by his or their decision to resort to legal proceedings in a court of law."

QUESTION OF DROPPING THE STANDING ORDER.

32. Mr. Saklatvala said that, if any such addition was made, the Association would prefer that the provision in question should be dropped; and that being so, the simplest thing would be to omit this Standing Order altogether, and to provide in Standing Order 19 for a right of appeal to the Managing Agents from any order of the Manager fining or dismissing an operative. Pending, however, a decision on the point, we do not ourselves make this alteration.

Standing Order 4.

Right of Individual Companies to alter rules.

33. " 4. The Company may, on one month's prior notice, add to or alter these Orders or substitute new Orders or any new Order and any such addition, alteration or substitution shall be as binding on the operatives as if originally incorporated in these Orders. Such notice to be posted prior to the last day of the month."

The Joint Strike Committee, in their written statement, say: " If the individual employers are permitted to make changes the Standing Orders will soon cease to be standardised. The changes must be approved collectively by the employers and also by the Organisations of Workers. In this rule there is no provision even for the objections of the workers being heard and considered." Again, one of the Demands made on behalf of the workmen during the General Strike was that the Millowners' Association should not permit its individual members to vary conditions of service to the disadvantage of the workers without the sanction of the Association (No. 4). To this, the Millowners' Association replied that on broad questions of policy the Association is consulted by its members before making any departure from existing policy, but in minor matters of internal administration discretion is left to individual members. In the discussions before us, however, the Millowners' Association have accepted the principle that there should be no alteration of the Standing Orders in any particular mill without such alteration being first approved by the Association.

WHETHER ALTERATION SHOULD REQUIRE APPROVAL OF THE ASSOCIATION.

On the other hand, Mr. Saklatvala urged that it is better to avoid any reference to the Millowners' Association in the rules, as the workmen were inclined to resent being told that something had been decided by the Millowners' Association, and preferred having the direct authority of their own mill agents. We think, however, that this objection loses its force in a case like this, where the Labour representatives themselves want a decision by the Association; and we therefore include this proposal in the subsequent recommendation that we make about prior consultation before an alteration of any Standing Order is made.

34. The main question in dispute before us was whether any alteration should be made with the consent of the "Organisations of Workers", to use the words of the Joint Strike Committee in their written statement. This corresponds to Demand No. 3, that the Millowners' Association shall not vary any of the present conditions to the disadvantage of the workers before securing the approval of the workers through their organisations. But, in the discussions before us, more stress was laid upon the necessity of consultation before any such changes were made than upon the necessity of approval. The Millowners' Association expressed their readiness to consult workers through some system of a Joint Committee, but objected to being tied down to obtaining the consent of the workers or their organisations before any changes were made.

WHETHER ALTERATION SHOULD REQUIRE CONSENT OF WORKERS' ORGANISATIONS.

35. The question here is limited to the advisability of laying down that alterations of the Standing Orders should only be made with the consent of the workers through their organisations. So far as we are aware, the only country in which such consent is required is in Soviet Russia. Even in the Labour Act* of the State of Jalisco, which has already been cited, and contains provisions very favourable to Labour, section 18 (*viii*) and section 21 require the rules of employment of the factory to be approved by the local Conciliation Board and by the Labour Department, not by the workers, or a local Trade Union; and the Conciliation Board is one on which the employers as well as the employees are represented (*see* section 76). In Finland, an Act† concerning Rules of Employment, passed in 1922, provides by section 7 that the workers engaged in the establishment or undertaking shall be granted facilities to express their views, either by means of a general meeting or through delegates elected from among themselves, respecting the draft rules of employment, which for this purpose shall be rendered accessible at the workplace for a period of a fortnight. The rules, however, do not require the consent of the workers, but only the approval of a board called the Board of Social Affairs. There is no precedent, so far as we are aware, either in England or in India, for such rules requiring the consent of the trades union. Primarily it is the right of an employer to lay down the conditions on which he will engage workmen, subject of course to factory laws and any contractual restrictions. He may not be able to obtain employees or there may be a strike, if a particular rule is objected to by the workmen, and this may result in an agreement between the employer and the local trades union; but that is a different thing from the contract of employment requiring such consent. In our opinion, there is no justification for the proposal that no change should be made in the Standing Orders without the consent of the Workers' Organisations, and we think that it will be sufficient if provision is made in the rules for the operatives

OPINION OF THE COMMITTEE.

* International Labour Office, Legislative Series, Vol. IV, 1923, Mex. 1.

† International Labour Office, Legislative Series, 1922—Fin. 2.

concerned, or their representatives, to be consulted before any alterations are made ; but in our opinion the consultation with Trade Unions would more appropriately be made by the Millowners' Association than by an individual Mill. In order to allow of sufficient time for the proposed consultation and consideration of objections, we would extend the period of prior notice from one month to two months. Subject to these qualifications, we think that there is no valid objection to the rule.

PERIOD OF NOTICE FOR A PROPOSED ALTERATION.

36. It was suggested by Mr. S. C. Joshi, as legal adviser for the Joint Mill Strike Committee, that some words should be inserted to the effect that the alteration should not be inconsistent with any of the existing Standing Orders. We are of opinion that this would be most undesirable, as it would prevent alterations being made that had been found by experience to be desirable and that were consented to by both the employer and the employees, if the alteration was one that was inconsistent with an existing rule. Thus, if 10 hours is mentioned as the maximum number of hours fixed under rule 5, a reduction of that number to 8 hours would be inconsistent with the rule as it stands. No legislature can properly be restricted as to its subsequent legislation in this manner, and we, therefore, do not agree with the suggestion. The watchfulness of the Trade Unions and the prior consultation that we contemplate should be sufficient safeguards against the fear expressed by the Joint Strike Committee in their written statement that the Standing Orders might be so changed as to cease to be standardised. At the same time it should not be forgotten that these Standing Orders have been put into their present form after a great deal of thought and discussion and are of a fundamental nature, and therefore should not be altered without extremely good reason and full opportunity for discussion by all parties. To emphasize this fact, we have redrafted this Order in a negative form, giving effect to our recommendation, as follows :—

WHETHER ALTERATION MAY BE INCONSISTENT WITH EXISTING STANDING ORDERS.

SUGGESTED REDRAFT.

"The Company will not rescind, add to, or otherwise alter these Orders unless —

(1) at least two months' clear notice of the proposed rescission, addition or other alteration has been posted up in the vernacular and a copy of the same forwarded to the Millowners' Association ;

(2) objections or suggestions, if any, put forward by the operatives or their representatives within one month after the posting up of the notice have been considered by the Company ;

(3) the Millowners' Association has signified its assent in writing to the proposal, or to any modification thereof ; and

(4) the said alteration, in the form finally approved by the Millowners' Association, has been posted up in the Vernacular for the information of the operatives of the Company, not less than fourteen days prior to its being given effect to.

Upon substantial compliance with the above conditions, the said alteration shall be binding on the operatives as if originally incorporated in these Orders :

"Provided that nothing in the foregoing part of this rule will preclude the Company from—

(*a*) making any such alteration with effect from an earlier time than is required by the above provisions, with the consent of the operatives or their representatives and with the approval of the Millowners' Association, or

(*b*) making by-laws or rules, not inconsistent with the Standing Orders, for the maintenance or running of any Departments, maintaining cleanliness, or other similar matters of internal administration."

SUGGESTION TO CHANGE PLACE OF THE STANDING ORDER.

37. We think a better place for the rule would be after Standing Order 21, and we have incorporated in the above draft an amendment about posting notices that is mentioned under that Standing Order. The first proviso is suggested, in order to enable an alteration to be made earlier than it otherwise could be under the suggested rule with the consent of the operatives or their representatives. The second proviso has been inserted, with reference to head (*d*) of Standing Order 17, and to make it clear that the regulation of such matters is not precluded by the Standing Orders so long as they are not inconsistent with any of them.

Standing Order 5.

Number of Hours of Work.

38. "5. The Mill will work each day for such number of hours as the Manager may from time to time fix in accordance with the Factories Act."

The Joint Strike Committee object that, as the maximum daily number of hours in Bombay are 10, it would be wrong for the Manager of an individual mill to change the number of hours to 11, which is permissible under the Factory Act. They contend that the maximum number of hours should, therefore, be mentioned in this rule. Mr. Saklatvala replies that the Factory Act allows a maximum of 11 hours, subject to the qualification that no man shall work for more than 60 hours a week, and that consequently there should not be a general limit of 10 hours a day. Supposing, for instance, it was desired to give the mill hands a half holiday on Saturday, it might be necessary to make up the extra time by having 11 hours' work on the other week days, though he adds that any such change could only be made in consultation with the Association. There is, however, no present intention of altering the existing time limit of 10 hours a day, and we think that the words "(not ordinarily exceeding 10)" should be added after "such number of hours." This would sufficiently indicate the ordinary maximum while, at the same time, enabling a Manager to make provision for a longer time, in the event of special emergencies.

SUGGESTED ADDITION.

39. A further objection is taken by the Joint Strike Committee, in their written statement, that in the case of piece-workers some minimum hours of work will have to be fixed. This was not pressed in the discussion before us, and has reference more to the question of "playing off" which is involved in rule 13. It need not, therefore, be considered here. In our opinion, there is no reasonable objection to this rule with the addition that we suggest.

Standing Order 6.

Notice of Hours of Work.

40. "6. Notice of the time of beginning and ending work will be posted on the Board outside the Time-Keeper's Office.

"The hours of work for adult operatives until further notice will be as follows:—

Proposal for extra morning recess.

7	a.m.	to	9-30	a.m.	
9-30	a.m.	to	10	a.m.	Recess.
10	a.m.	to	1	p.m.	
1	p.m.	to	1-45	p.m.	Recess.
1-45	p.m.	to	6-15	p.m.	

"(This is subject to the approval of the Factory Inspector and the consent of the operatives.)

Penalty for Late Attendance.

"Operatives attending late are liable to be shut out and treated as absent, but may be admitted on payment of a fine.

Meals to be taken only during Recess Times.

"Operatives shall only take their food at the Recess Times. Any break of this Order will incur dismissal."

No objection has been taken to paragraph 1 of this rule. Paragraph 2 gives a proposed rearrangement of hours of work, so as to provide two recesses instead of one, in accordance with the recommendation of the Tariff Board, in paragraph 62, at page 138 of their Report. They there say:

PROPOSED EXTRA MORNING RECESS.

"A minor, but in our opinion, very essential reform which should be immediately introduced in the Bombay mills is the fixation of a definite period of rest to enable the operatives to take their morning meal. We were greatly struck during our inspection of mills by the number of operatives we found taking food in the mill compounds an hour or two after the commencement of work. This materially affects efficiency and we are of opinion that the commencement of work should be put back to 6-30 a.m., a period of rest of half an hour being granted from 9 a.m. to 9-30 a.m or 9-30 a.m. to 10 a.m. to permit of meals being taken. This reform has already been introduced in the mill in Bombay to which reference has been made and the new system has been found to work successfully. If the mills find combined action in this respect difficult, the difficulty might be overcome by an amendment of the Factory Act though we are of opinion that it should be possible to secure the required object without legislation."

The mill there referred to is that of the Bombay Woollen Mills, Limited, employing approximately 800 operatives. Their hours are 6-30 a.m. to 9-30 a.m., 10 a.m. to 1 p.m. and 2 p.m. to 6 p.m., with two recesses, one from 9-30 a.m. to 10 a.m. and the other from 1 p.m. to 2 p.m. The Manager, Mr. Addyman, in his evidence stated that these hours were introduced when the number of working hours a day was reduced from 12 to 10 hours, and that the starting time was then altered from 6 a.m. to 6-30 a.m. In these circumstances, the question of putting back the commencement of work from 7 a.m. to 6-30 a.m. did not arise in his mill. The Millowners' Association, realising the difficulty of getting the workers of mills, who have been accustomed to start work at 7 a.m., to agree to begin work half an hour earlier, propose that the present starting hour of 7 a.m. should be maintained, and that the half hour recess should be made up by reducing the present mid-day recess of one hour to three quarters of an hour and by adding a quarter of an hour to the working day, so that it should continue till 6-15 p.m. instead of 6 p.m. The Joint Strike Committee object to this and make counter proposals that there should be a morning recess of half an hour and an afternoon recess for tea, within the present limits of 7 a.m. and 6 p.m., whereby the working hours would be reduced from 10 to 9¼ hours. The Millowners' Association is unwilling to reduce the 10 hours in this manner. Under section 21 of the Indian Factory Act, 1911, a recess of less than one hour can only be provided with the consent of the employees, and the rule accordingly makes the proposed hours subject to the approval of the Factory Inspector and the consent of the operatives. It will be seen, therefore, that an agreement on the subject is not likely to be reached, unless some concession is made on either side.

OPINION OF THE COMMITTEE.

41. We endorse the opinion of the Tariff Board that a morning recess is desirable ; but we do not consider that it is reasonable to require the millowners to reduce the present number of working hours from 10, in order to enable this recess to be provided, so long as there is no general reduction of that kind made for all factories by legislation or otherwise. Nor, on the other hand, do we think that the millowners can reasonably insist on the operatives reducing the mid-day hour recess and staying one quarter of an hour longer in the mill, in order to enable the half hour morning recess to be given. In fact, they do not propose a change except by agreement which, as we have mentioned, seems unlikely until there is some reduction of the present maximum working hours in a day.

RECOMMENDATION TO TRY EXTRA RECESS WITH REDUCED HOURS.

42. The result is that the hours of work to be mentioned in this paragraph should remain as they are at present, unless some general compromise is arrived at or an agreement to the contrary is made in the case of any particular mill. In any case, having regard to the extreme desirability of this extra recess, we think that the Millowners' Association might well try the experiment in some mills of giving it, and reducing the working hours to 9½. If (as the Labour representatives contend) this will reduce loitering and absenteeism and result

in no material loss of production, the experiment will be fully justified. It should, however, in our opinion, be confined to Mills which have adequate provision for shelter during meal time from sun or rain, and for facilities of obtaining drinking water.

43. The second paragraph of this Standing Order should, therefore, in our opinion, run as follows :—

" The present hours of work for adult operatives are as follows :—

7 a.m. to 12 noon.
12 noon to 1 p.m. Recess.
1 p.m. to 6 p.m.

" Provided that, with the approval of the Factory Inspector and the consent of the operatives or their representatives, these hours may be modified so as to allow of a morning recess in addition to the mid-day one."

LATE ATTENDANCE.

44. Paragraph 3 says that operatives attending late are liable to be shut out and treated as absent, but may be admitted on payment of a fine. We do not think that any reasonable objection can be taken to a rule stating the liability of an operative to be shut out if he arrives late. In practice, a period of grace (*e.g.*, of 10 or 15 minutes) is allowed, and there is no reason to suppose that the rule is or will be too strictly enforced. In our opinion it is undesirable to provide a definite period of grace, as this would probably encourage late attendance.

WHETHER FINES SHOULD BE INFLICTED FOR LATE ATTENDANCE.

45. The question of penalty for late attendance involves the controversy as to the desirability of inflicting fines. The draft rule follows the existing practice, under which an employee, who has no satisfactory excuse for late attendance, is generally fined a few annas. The question of legislation on the lines of the English Truck Acts was under the consideration of the Government of India, and the Tariff Board, in paragraph 64, on page 139 of their Report, have refrained from expressing any opinion except on two points which do not concern this paragraph. The more general question can best be dealt with in connection with rule 18, but we may state here that we see no objection to the present practice of small fines for late attendance continuing, at any rate until the legislature may otherwise decide. There is no satisfactory evidence that this power is abused, and rule 18 limits the total amount of such fines to 2 per cent. of the operative's total earnings for that month. The Joint Strike Committee suggest that the fines should in no case exceed the proportionate wages for the time by which the employee is late; but this, in our opinion, would unduly encourage late attendance, through the idea that a man could come in at any time, subject to losing a proportionate part of his wages.

OPINION OF THE COMMITTEE.

46. The system of locking-out for unpunctuality is preferred by the Joint Strike Committee, and Mr. Addyman testified that he found it to work satisfactorily in his mill. He allows only 10 minutes' grace, and any operatives locked-out are not permitted to enter until after the morning recess, namely, 10 a.m., and they are allowed wages for only three quarters of a day. There is a good deal to be said for this system, but in a cotton mill without the morning recess it would involve locking-out an operative for half a day, as the mill would ordinarily have to engage a substitute if production is not to suffer; so that the operative could not be conveniently allowed to come back at 1 p.m. We may add that this question was considered by the English Truck Committee of 1906, and the majority were against the substitution of any such system of temporary suspension for that of fines. In paragraph 55, at page 23 of their Report, they say :—

LOCKING-OUT FOR LATE ATTENDANCE.

> "It must be admitted that unpunctuality may be a source of trouble, inconvenience and loss, not only to the employer but also to other workers. A worker who is constantly late may not only cause loss to the employer, because his machinery is running all the time, but he may disorganise the work of other persons, where he is one of three or four who work in a gang. An employer is therefore bound to protect himself in some way against it, and if he does not care to fine his employees he must have resort to some other method of maintaining discipline. If there are drawbacks to a system of fining, there are also objections to the alternative of locking out from the point of view of the workers."

Some of the reasons that they give for these drawbacks do not fully apply to mill-hands in Bombay, but the objection (see page 26 of the Report) that "an employer wishes to get his work done, and any system of punishment which interferes with production is against the employer's interest" is one that supports the difficulty which we have pointed out as being in the way of a general adoption of a system of locking-out an operative for half a day. Whenever an agreement is reached over the adoption of a morning recess, there will be more inducement to the millowners to adopt Mr. Addyman's plan. Until that stage arrives, we think that this paragraph is fair and reasonable. Of course, if a substitute has been engaged owing to the absence of the operative, the latter may lose his wages for the day, and no fine will ordinarily be necessary in such a case. We may add that Mr. Bradley suggested that late attendance would be discouraged by the system followed in some factories of giving a "bonus" hour for regular attendance, which is forfeited if an operative is ever late. This is a suggestion which might be considered by the Millowners' Association or the proposed Joint Committee, but scarcely comes within our terms of reference.

OPINION OF THE COMMITTEE.

"BONUS" HOUR FOR LATE ATTENDANCE.

47. Paragraph 4 lays down that operatives shall only take their food at the recess times, and that any break of this Order will incur dismissal. This was proposed on the basis of a morning recess being adopted, when the morning meal might be taken by all operatives. It is admitted that the paragraph cannot otherwise be properly enforced, and it should therefore be limited accordingly. It should, in our opinion, run as follows :—

PROPOSAL THAT MEALS SHOULD BE TAKEN ONLY DURING RECESS TIMES.

> "When a morning Recess is provided, operatives shall take their food only at the Recess Times, and any breach of this Order will render the offender liable to be punished for misconduct under Orders 17 and 18."

The objection to operatives taking their meals at work times has been pointed out by the Tariff Board in paragraph 62 of their Report, and it would be difficult to suppress this practice unless there is an ultimate liability to dismissal for breach of the order that meals should only be taken at recess times. Warning or a fine might, however, be sufficient in the first instance ; and we have accordingly modified the paragraph so as to avoid a reference to dismissal, as if it was the sole penalty provided.

48. Subject, therefore, to the amendments we propose, we think that this rule is a fair one.

Standing Order 7.

49. "7. Each operative without exception will be provided with a departmental ticket showing his number, name and occupation, and on attendance each day shall deliver up the ticket at the place provided."

All Operatives to be provided with tickets.

The written statement of the Joint Strike Committee says that the workers are generally against the ticket system, which for a long time has not existed for piece workers. Demand No. 11 put forward by the Joint Strike Committee also asks that the newly introduced system of compelling the workmen to take out and present tickets of attendance should be discontinued. Mr. Saklatvala has pointed out that the statement that the system has not previously existed in the case of the piece-workers is exaggerated, and that it is only the weavers who were not given tickets. He says the reason for this was that the mills generally insisted upon weavers who absented themselves providing substitutes, and as in such a case he was not marked absent, it was not considered necessary to give him a ticket. On the other hand, evidence given before us shows that in the Spring and Textile Mills, owned by the Company of which Sir N. Wadia and his partners are the Managing Agents, the weavers have been obliged to take out tickets from 1923 (with occasional short intervals, mainly due to strikes) until the general strike of 1928 ; but the weavers objected to the system, and this led to the Joint Strike Committee including this objection in their Demand No. 11. Mr. Sasakura has also

OBJECTIONS.

QUESTION OF EXEMPTING WEAVERS.

testified that he makes all his employees, including weavers, take out tickets in the Toyo Podar Cotton Mill. A similar arrangement exists for all workers in the Municipal and G. I. P. Railway Workshops; and it has been stated before us to be commonly insisted on in the case of all operatives in European factories.

OPINION OF THE COMMITTEE.

50. The system of tickets has in its favour that it helps to check fraud in regard to attendance, and it is not a new thing except in regard to its proposed general application to weavers. Their objection seems to be mainly sentimental and to be based upon their desire to keep up this distinction between themselves and the other workers. Sentiment often prevails over pure reason, and has to be taken into consideration: but in this instance we do not think it has behind it any genuine grievance or universal custom. Their being excepted in the past appears to be due mainly to the practice of requiring a weaver to provide a substitute when he absents himself, and not to have arisen out of any recognition of the contention that it would be derogatory to their position to put them on the same footing as spinners or piece-workers in the other departments. Both the Millowner and the weaver gain certain advantages from the practice. The former is saved the trouble of seeking for a substitute, if he approves of the one sent by the weaver; while the latter is able to absent himself at will, knowing that his place will ordinarily be taken by a substitute in whom he has confidence. This practice thus rests on mutual convenience and consent. It is not a case of the weaver benefitting merely his employer (and not himself) by sending a substitute, and of this service being expressly or impliedly done in consideration of the privilege of being exempted from dropping a ticket like other operatives. We do not, therefore, agree with Mr. Bakhale's contention that the Millowners cannot properly insist on weavers dropping tickets, unless they give up the practice of weavers sending substitutes. The two things are not inter-dependent.

51. Another objection raised is that the weavers are piece-workers, and so the system is unnecessary in their case. But many other operatives are also piece-workers, and in their case, just as much as in that of time-workers, it is reasonable that the Mill authorities should have the means of ascertaining by this check of dropping tickets whether a particular permanent hand has absented himself from work. The practice of a weaver himself sending a substitute does not do away with this desirability, for the distinction between a permanent hand and a substitute remains, and the Mill-muster has to show separately the wages of the permanent weaver and of each substitute employed for him during a month.

MISUNDERSTANDING BY WEAVERS AS TO WEARING TICKETS.

52. Some of the weavers, who gave evidence, seemed to be under the impression that the ticket had to be worn, and objected that they would be taken for prisoners. But, though the Millowners' Association originally proposed that operatives should wear badges to show the department to which they belonged, this idea was dropped

and was not contained in the draft Standing Orders submitted to us. Much of the opposition by the weavers to the ticket-system appears to be due to a misunderstanding on this point; and if this is removed, as it should be, with the help of the Labour representatives, then the main basis for their objections would disappear. In all the circumstances we think there is nothing unreasonable in the proposal that weavers should fall into line with other mill operatives in regard to the taking out of tickets. We therefore accept this rule as a reasonable and desirable one.

Standing Order 8.

53. "8. Any operative who, after presenting his ticket, is found absent from his post without leave without sufficient cause is liable to be treated as absent without leave. Any operative who desires to obtain leave of absence must apply previously to the Head of his Department or any officer appointed by the Manager for this purpose."

Absence from work without leave.

Objection has been taken to the words "absent from his post" as vague. The Joint Strike Committee, in their written statement, say that it is not clear whether the phrase means absence on account of leaving the premises of the factory, or leaving the department, or leaving the actual place of work. The last named alternative is obviously meant, and this is a complaint that is rather far-fetched. The words "from his post" in fact clear up an ambiguity that exists in most of the present Mill Rules on the subject. Thus, the rule of the Rachael Sassoon Mills (No. 11) merely says "No person shall for any reason absent himself without leave." Mr. S. C. Joshi suggested that the word "duty" would be better than "post," as a man might be temporarily away from it on legitimate business. Mr.. Caroe, on the other hand, thought that the word "duty" would be too wide a word to use, and that a man might not be held to be absent from his duty unless he was absent from his mill. We think a modification of the words used by the Joint Strike Committee, namely, "his proper place or places of work" might be substituted for "post;" and this was agreed to in the final discussion.

54. It was also agreed that the words "without leave or other sufficient excuse" should be substituted for "without leave without sufficient cause."

55. The second sentence of the rule relates to the grant of leave of absence. Mr. Saklatvala stated that it is not intended that an operative who wants to go out for a purely temporary purpose should be required to go to the head of his department for leave of absence; and we think that the second sentence should show clearly that it excludes such cases. The Association has, in accordance with No. 14 of "the Seventeen Demands," included a separate rule about granting leave in its final

draft of the Standing Orders, and we accordingly think the Standing Order should run as follows :—

SUGGESTED REDRAFT.

"8. Any operative who after presenting his ticket is found absent from his proper place or places of work without leave or other sufficient excuse is liable to be treated as absent without leave. Any operative who desires to leave his work, except for a temporary purpose within the mill premises, must apply previously in accordance with Order 8-A."

56. Subject to the above alterations, we consider the rule to be fair and reasonable. The question of payment to an operative for part of a day if he has to leave work for sufficient reasons before its completion is referred to in the written statement of the Joint Strike Committee ; but it does not really arise if the rule is restricted as we propose. It can be more properly discussed in connection with rule 13.

New Rule about Granting Leave.

57. The rule about granting leave is put as No. 17 in the Association's final draft, but we think it might as well come in next to Standing Order 8, which refers to it. The draft proposed by the Association is as follows :—

"When on an application for special leave, leave exceeding one day and not exceeding two months is granted to an operative, the period of leave granted shall be stated in writing by the head of his department. In the event of an operative taking leave in excess of the period granted, he shall lose all rights to reinstatement unless he has previously secured permission in writing to extend the leave originally granted and returns to work on the first working day following the period covered by any such extension."

We suggest the following redraft, of which the main features were accepted in the course of the discussion :—

"8-A. Any operative who desires to obtain leave of absence must apply previously to the Head of his department or any officer appointed by the Manager for this purpose, who, if he thinks fit, may grant him leave for a period not exceeding two months. If the leave granted exceeds one day, the officer granting it shall keep a record of its grant, and give the operative a written and signed certificate as to the period of leave granted to him. In the event of an operative taking leave in excess of the period granted, he shall lose all his rights to re-instatement, unless he has previously secured written permission to extend the leave originally granted and returns to work on the first working day following the period covered by any such extension, or unless on his return to work he gives a satisfactory explanation for his omission to apply for such an extension, and the extension is retrospectively sanctioned."

58. Mr. Bakhale urged that the rule should give an operative a right to two months' leave after 10 months' work. But this would be a considerable

advance on existing conditions, and the absence of such a provision cannot be said to make the proposed rule unfair or unreasonable. We have had no complaints that applications for leave are unreasonably refused; so far as we are aware, operatives generally get leave, when they want it.

Standing Order 9.

59. "9. Operatives will be classed as (1) Probationary and (2) Permanent. A probationary operative is one who is provisionally engaged for the first time on a particular post for a period of two months during which he may be dismissed at any time without notice. At the end of two months if not dismissed a probationary operative becomes permanent."

Probationary and Permanent Operatives.

The Joint Strike Committee say "As the employer has a right to dismiss a probationer without notice, the probationer must also have a right to leave without notice." This has been conceded by the Mill-owners' Association and some words such as "or may leave" should be inserted between "dismissed" and "at any time." Mr. S. C. Joshi suggested that "discharged" would be a better word to use than "dismissed" in the circumstances of the case, and we agree that this should be done, though it is not of material importance.

60. A probationary period during which an operative can be dismissed without notice is, we believe, recognised as legitimate in all countries, and even the Russian Labour Code* provides for it. The rule, as amended by us, is, in our opinion, fair and reasonable.

Standing Order 10.

61. "10. No operative shall enter or leave the mill premises except by the gate appointed for the purpose."

Entrance and Exit.

No objection has been taken to this rule, which is clearly desirable.

Standing Order 11.

62. "11. All male operatives are liable on leaving the mill premises to be searched by the gateman and all female operatives are liable to be detained by the gateman for search by the female searcher."

Liability of Operatives to be searched.

The Joint Strike Committee say in their written statement:

"The search provided for presumes that the workers are criminals. The search can only be justified in factories where very precious articles which can easily be concealed, are handled. The workers can't accept this rule."

OBJECTION TO THE RULE.

* International Labour Office, Legislative Series, 1922, Russ. 1, section 38.

63. There has also been considerable discussion before us about this rule, in which Messrs. Caroe and S. C. Joshi have taken part, as to the legal points arising. Mr. Caroe is of opinion that without such a rule being embodied as part of the contract of employment, the gateman could not legally detain and search an operative about to leave the mill premises. Mr. Joshi is of the contrary opinion. It is, we think, unnecessary to discuss this point beyond saying that there is no clear provision in the Criminal Procedure Code or any other law that we are aware of, which authorises a private person, even if he may be in a position of some authority in his occupation or business, to detain and search a person suspected of theft in the same way that a police officer can, under section 51 of the Criminal Procedure Code or section 81 of the Bombay City Police Act, 1902 ; and, in our opinion, there is considerable doubt as to the correctness of Mr. Joshi's opinion.

WHETHER THE RULE IS NECESSARY.

64. The first question is whether it is desirable and reasonable that a gateman should be given this power of search. The contention put forward on behalf of the Joint Strike Committee that he already has this power really favours an affirmative answer to this question, for it means that the rule would make no departure from the ordinary law. Mr. Bakhale in his concluding arguments did not contend that the liability of an operative to be searched on suspicion was unreasonable, but only objected to its being included in the Standing Orders. We have the admitted fact that the rule accords with a practice which has existed for very many years—probably ever since the mills were erected in Bombay. In fact it has been shown that at least 4 mills have a rule to that effect. Thus the Bomanji Petit Mill Rules say :—

WHETHER THE RULE IS DESIRABLE.

> " 17. All persons employed in these Works are liable to have their persons searched whilst leaving the Works, whenever it is thought expedient to do so."

Such searches, it is stated (and there is no reason for not accepting this statement), are only made when there is ground for suspecting that an operative may have property of the mill concealed on his person : and it would ordinarily be impracticable, without special arrangements, to search many of the operatives when the bulk of them are leaving a mill. The duty of an employee to submit to such a search has, in fact, been recognised both in Germany and Italy. Thus, in Germany, there is agreement in judicial decisions to the effect that the duty of the employee to submit himself to inspection may, with full effect, be included in the works rules. In the absence of such rules a search at the gates may be carried through by the management after informing the works council. Some five decisions are cited in support of this note. The note adds :

> " Good faith and ordinary usage require that the employer deciding upon an examination at the gates of the works should undertake such measures only as are, in the circumstances, necessary and sufficient

to prevent acts of larceny and that the employee should submit himself to these necessary measures. The manner in which the examination is carried out must be determined by the special requirements of the works. The fact that the objects in question may easily be concealed about the body would seem to justify such a method of examination as may eventually lead to the discovery of the object thus concealed. The employer who produces woollen yarn must therefore be permitted to search under the garments of female employees; otherwise the right of the employer to protection from theft could not be satisfied. An examination of this kind must of course be conducted in a tactful manner." *

Similarly, in Italy, it has been held that the refusal on the part of the workman to submit himself to an inspection when coming out of the workshop was legitimate ground for an immediate dismissal†. There is an obvious danger of materials or goods in process of manufacture being stolen by operatives in a mill, and there is evidence that such thefts occur in Bombay mills. In England, the Larceny Act, 1916 (6 and 7, Geo. V, c. 50, Sec. 10), makes the stealing of cotton yarn, or any goods or article of silk, woollen, linen, cotton, alpaca, or mohair, or of any one or more of those materials mixed with each other, or mixed with any other material whilst laid, placed, or exposed, during any stage, process, or progress of manufacture in any building, field, or other place, a felony, for which a person convicted would be liable to penal servitude up to 14 years. It is a serious offence, and we think it is but right, in the circumstances, that an employee should, on suspicion, be liable to be searched, as proposed in this rule. We therefore answer the first question in the affirmative.

OPINION OF THE COMMITTEE.

65. The second question is whether there should be a rule on the subject included in the Standing Orders. Mr. Bakhale submitted that this would create bitterness on the part of the operatives, and that it is accordingly better to rely on unwritten practice, as is done in the case of some workshops in Bombay. But against this may be urged the uncertainty as to the legal right of a gateman to detain an operative and search him on suspicion. It would be fairer to the gateman, who might be sued for damages or prosecuted for assault, that he should have the protection that this Standing Order will afford him. On the other hand, such a contingency is improbable and does not seem to have arisen in the past. If, therefore, the Labour representatives agree to the present practice continuing without any objection from the operatives, we think the Millowners' Association might meet them by consenting to the Standing Order being dropped, on the understanding that it should be re-inserted if the agreement is not fulfilled.

WHETHER PROVISION FOR SEARCH SHOULD BE INCLUDED IN THE STANDING ORDERS.

* International Labour Office: International Survey of Legal Decisions on Labour Law, 1925, pages 180 and 181.

† International Labour Office: International Survey of Legal Decisions on Labour Law, 1925, pages 235-236.

66. That, however, is a question of policy, with which we are not concerned under the Reference to us. We have merely to say whether the Standing Order is fair and reasonable, and for the reasons given above we approve of it as such, subject to the addition of the words "if acting without malice he suspects that any operative so detained or searched has wrongful possession of property belonging to the Company." It is not likely, in our opinion, that this power will be often abused, and a gateman who is guilty of such misconduct would incur dismissal, as well as liability to be sued or prosecuted for assault or wrongful restraint. The words "acting without malice" are proposed by us, in order to show that a mere assertion of suspicion will be insufficient to protect a gateman, if he is proved to have been actuated by malice.

SUGGESTED ADDITION TO THE RULE.

Standing Order 12.

67. "12. Before the beginning of each month a notice will be posted outside the Time-Keeper's Office and in the Mill stating (*a*) the days on which the mill will be closed during the following month, and (*b*) the date or dates on which wages will be paid."

Posting of notices about Holidays and dates of payment of Wages.

The Strike Committee say "The rule must provide that the wages will be paid before the 8th day of each month." The Millowners' Association object that it is ordinarily impracticable to pay the wages so early: sometimes it is done, so as to make payments before a holiday, such as Divali; but extra clerks have to be employed and worked late at night in order to prepare the wage roll in time. The lists of pay days suggested by the Millowners' Association in recent years show that these are mostly between the 11th and 15th of a month, but in some cases the 9th has been suggested, if falling just before a Sunday or other holiday. Mr. Saklatvala has stated that in a previous strike it was agreed that the ordinary date for payment should be reduced from the 25th to the 15th of the month, and it is undoubtedly the case that the existing practice is to pay not later than the 15th. The advisability of legislation to prevent undue delay in the payment of wages to industrial workers is under the consideration of the Government of India, who in 1926 consulted the Provincial Governments on the subject. There are undoubtedly good arguments to be urged in support of the proposal that monthly wages should ordinarily be paid within a week of the close of the month for which they are due; but, on the other hand, there are difficulties in the way of making a general rule to that effect. Thus the calculation of a weaver's wages under the Standardisation Scheme, as well as under existing arrangements, is bound to take some time; and though time workers could be paid earlier than piece-workers, this would involve extra trouble, and might lead to resentment on the part of the latter. We think, in the circumstances that this is a question which had best be left to the Government

QUESTION WHETHER PAYMENT CAN BE MADE EARLIER.

of India, who are considering it, and to the decision of the Legislature if a Bill on the subject is introduced. We are of opinion that it would be unwise on our part to attempt to anticipate their decision, which will take into account larger considerations than those before us; and that (as things stand) there is not sufficient ground for objecting to Standing Order 12, merely because it continues the present practice of paying wages by the 15th of the succeeding month. If and when legislation reduces this limit of 15 days, the dates fixed for payment under the Standing Order will have to be modified accordingly. But we think the Millowners' Association should, without waiting for such legislation, try to get their Members to agree to a reduction of the period at any rate to 10 days, and as a Joint Committee is now established, this is a matter which could very well be referred to them for discussion.

OPINION OF THE COMMITTEE.

68. The Millowners' Association have in their final draft incorporated a rule as to the method of calculating wages, which was foreshadowed in paragraph 6 of the Terms formulated by the Association during the General Strike, and which is contained in the Standardisation Scheme. It is as follows:—

New Rule as to method of calculating Wages.

> "Wages will be calculated to the nearest pie and the percentage allowance paid for the high cost of living shall be calculated on this amount including annas and pies, but no payment of pies shall be made. If the last figure of this calculation is five pies or less, it shall be neglected; if the last figure of this calculation amounts to six or more, the annas column will be increased to the next higher figure."

We think it is a fair and reasonable rule, which will be to the advantage of the operatives. It will make it clear that the allowance of 70 per cent. or 80 per cent. is to be calculated on the total amount of the basic wages (including annas and pies), contrary to the existing practice in some Mills; and secondly the ratio of five pies to seven pies is in favour of the operative. It is, in our opinion, desirable to include the rule in the Standing Orders, and a suitable place for it would be after Standing Order 12. We, therefore, provisionally number it as 12-A.

Standing Order 13.

69. "13. The Company may at any time or times and for any period or periods at their discretion in the event of a strike, fire, catastrophe, emergency or epidemic, or when it is necessary to do so because of the state of the trade stop any machine or machines, department or departments. The operatives employed on those machines or in those departments will be 'played-off,' *i.e.*, temporarily stopped without notice and without compensation in lieu of notice. The employees so 'played-off' are not to be considered as dismissed from service, but are temporarily unemployed and will not be entitled to wages during such unemployment. Such employees will be given the first chance of work again on the resumption of work on such machines or departments."

"Playing-off."

QUESTION OF FAIRNESS AND LEGALITY OF THE SYSTEM.

This raises the question of the legality and fairness of what is known as "playing-off," under which an operative is given less work than he would normally have, or is asked to stay away for some time, for trade reasons such as varying seasonal demands or lack of orders. The operative gets no compensation for being thus deprived of work, but is given a preferential claim to full employment or re-employment, as the case may be. It is said that this is a practice which is prevalent in cotton mills both in Lancashire and Bombay for very many years; and there is no reason to doubt the truth of this statement. Thus Professor Chapman, on page 253 of his book "The Lancashire Cotton Industry" mentions that, on account of slackness of work, "manufacturers will frequently provide less than a week's work for some of their hands, and the women as a rule do not object to the occasional holidays: in fact, from the point of view of those who have homes to look after, occasional holidays are to be welcomed." On the other hand, it is obviously a practice of a one-sided kind, and contravenes the general principle laid down in English decisions that ordinarily an employer has to provide a workman with a reasonable amount of work, until the employment is properly determined by notice or otherwise. Thus in *Devonald* v. *Rosser & Sons* (1906), 2 K.B. 728, the Court of Appeal refused to go against this principle, even in a case where the employer had to close his works because he could not keep them running at a profit. In the course of his judgment, Lord Alverstone, C.J., said:

> "What, then, is the obligation of the employers under such a contract as the present? On the one hand we must consider the matter from the point of view of the employers who I agree will under ordinary circumstances desire to carry on their works at a profit, though not necessarily at a profit in every week, for it is matter of common knowledge that masters have frequently to run their mills for weeks and months together at a loss in order to keep their business together and in hopes of better times. On the other hand, we have to consider the position of the workman. The workman has to live; and the effect of the defendants' contention is that if the master at any time found that his works were being carried on at a loss, he might at once close down his works and cease to employ his men, who, even if they gave notice to quit the employment, would be bound to the master for a period of at least twenty-eight days during which time they would be unable to earn any wages at all. I agree with Jelf J. that that is an unreasonable contention from the workman's point of view. In my opinion the necessary implication to be drawn from this contract is at least that the master will find a reasonable amount of work up to the expiration of a notice given in accordance with the contract. I am not prepared to say that that obligation is an absolute one to find work at all events, for the evidence shewed that it was subject to certain contingencies, such as breakdown of machinery and want of water and materials. But I am clearly of opinion that it would be no

excuse to the master, for non-performance of his implied obligation to provide the workman with work, that he could no longer make his plates at a profit either for orders or for stock. It is to be observed that the question how the works are to be carried on, whether they are going to work short or full time, or whether for stock or for current orders, is a matter which rests entirely in the hands of the master. The men have absolutely nothing to say to it. And it seems to me that there is nothing unreasonable in the implication that the master shall look at least twenty-eight days ahead, or, to take the extreme case, as the notice has to be given on the first Monday in the month, fifty-seven days ahead, so as to place himself in a position to provide the workman with work during the period covered by the notice."

70. The other two Judges (Sir G. Barnes and Farwell, L.J.) expressed similar views. The Court also held that an alleged custom that the works might be closed without notice in the case of lack of orders at remunerative prices was not a valid one. No doubt the above was a case where there was no express contract between the parties of the kind it is proposed to embody in Standing Order 13; and it is true that there is nothing to prevent an agreement of this kind being made. In fact, some of the existing Mill Rules contain even more stringent provisions. Thus the rules of the Rachel Sassoon Mills provide:

LEGALITY OF PROVIDING FOR "PLAYING-OFF."

"16. The Company shall have full power to stop the Mills without notice whenever in its opinion it shall be necessary or expedient to do so, either by reason of fire, breakage or any other casualty, or on account of holidays, bad Market or any cause or causes whatsoever.

"17. No person shall be entitled to receive wages for any period during which the Mills are not at work, but the stoppage of the Mill shall not relieve any person employed therein from his obligation to give notice before leaving the Company's service."

Similarly, the Hindustan Mill has a rule as follows:

"25. The Company shall have full powers to stop the Mill without notice whenever it shall in their opinion become necessary or expedient to do so either by reason of fire, breakdown, bad market for cloth or any other cause or causes whatsoever."

71. The Joint Strike Committee, in their written statement, refer to section 56 of the Indian Contract Act as possibly rendering such a rule void; but this section merely provides that a contract which is impossible is void, and a contract which becomes impossible will become void. It does not affect the legality of an agreement of the kind mentioned in Standing Order 13. On the other hand, it is correct to say that, whereas a fire or other catastrophe preventing a mill working would be an impossibility of the kind contemplated by section 56, a trade depression or slackness of trade would not of itself justify any breach of contract by an employer on the ground that it rendered it impossible for him to perform the implied contract of an employer to provide work

APPLICABILITY OF SECTION 56, CONTRACT ACT.

for an employee. There is therefore a distinction between a cause for stopping work of the former kind, and one of the latter. In the former case, workmen could legally be discharged without notice, even if there is no express contract to that effect; in the latter case, they could not, unless there was an express contract, or proved valid custom to justify it.

OPINION OF COMMITTEE AS TO "PLAYING-OFF" FOR TRADE PURPOSES.

72. In these circumstances, we are of opinion that there is unfairness to the employees in the proposed Standing Order, so far as it covers "playing off" on account of "the state of trade" without fixing any time limit whatever. Even in the case of mills, which already have such rules, we think there is reasonable objection to perpetuating the practice by its recognition to the extent proposed in the Standard Rules. We do not think operatives can properly be called upon to contract to their disadvantage to such an extent.

73. On the other hand, we do not mean to say that there is not something to be said for the practice, in cases where it is reasonably acted on, *i.e.* without undue hardship to a worker who may have no objection to having a holiday without pay, or less work, for one or two days. In effect it is a species of "short time" which is often adopted by agreement to meet a change of orders or other temporary difficulty. It is undoubtedly customary in the Cotton Industry to allow for such temporary stoppage of work; and the principle that the employer must provide the workman with work during his period of employment is given a little elasticity by mutual recognition of this custom. Thus Mr. and Mrs. Sydney Webb say in their standard work on "Industrial Democracy" (edition of 1920, page 443) that the Trade Unions in England have accepted the position that a capitalist can only be expected to find wages for the wage earner, so long as he can find them work; and it is recognised even in the Soviet Russian Labour Code* that there may legitimately be temporary stoppage of work for trade reasons. We think therefore that, if the "playing off" of an operative for trade reasons is limited to not more than two days at a time, there is nothing unreasonable in the practice being continued and provided for in the Standing Orders. We understand that this period will cover most cases in which the practice exists; and an employer should ordinarily be able to look ahead and avoid "playing off" to any greater extent. It is also possible that the employer may be able to give other suitable work to the operative especially if the stoppage is partial, *e.g.*, the operative may be transferred to work on a similar machine, or asked to clean and adjust his machine. At the most the employer will have to give the prescribed notice or pay wages for the period of stoppage. The right of an employer to stop working, or to reduce the working hours, after due notice is acknowledged everywhere and cannot be affected by these Standing Orders.

PROPOSAL THAT "PLAYING-OFF" FOR TRADE PURPOSES SHOULD BE LIMITED TO TWO DAYS AT A TIME.

* International Labour Office: Legislative Series, 1922, Russ. 1, sections 36, 47 and 88.

74. The above criticism does not, however, apply to the other cases specified in this Standing Order, viz., " strike, fire," etc. These are on a different footing as covering interruption of employment through causes for which the employer is not responsible. Thus it has been held in England that, where a mine has to be closed because it has become unsafe through no fault of the mine owner, the consequent loss must be borne (unless otherwise agreed) by the persons employed in the mine (*Browning and others v. Crumlin Valley Collieries, Ltd.*, [1926] 1 K. B. 22). It was contended by Mr. Bakhale that there was no need to provide for such cases in the Standing Orders, and that to have such a rule would prejudice the workers by preventing them from resorting to a Court of Law to recover compensation for time lost. Existing Mill Rules, however, as already mentioned, contain provisions on the subject; and we think it is in the interests of both the employer and the employee that an important condition of employment like this should be clearly stated. The omission of such a rule, in the case of a mill which had previously had one, would prejudice the Millowner, who might thereby be held to have given up his previous position and to have impliedly agreed to compensate the operative for loss of work. We think, therefore, it is reasonable to standardise the existing rules about " playing off," so far as this relates to causes beyond the control of the employer, in accordance with the general law on the subject, but that the proposal about " playing off " for trade reasons should be restricted, as already mentioned.

"PLAYING-OFF" FOR INTERRUPTIONS OF WORK THROUGH CAUSES FOR WHICH EMPLOYER NOT RESPONSIBLE.

CONCLUSION OF THE COMMITTEE.

75. In regard to the first class of cases, it was agreed by Mr. Caroe that the words " epidemic or other emergency rendering it necessary or advisable to do so " were preferable to the words " emergency or epidemic." Some objection was taken by the Labour representatives to the case of strikes, but it is obvious that a strike in one department of a mill may wholly or partially interfere with the working of another department. We also consider that the Standing Order should contain a provision that an employee " played off " for a period longer than a week may leave the Company's service on intimation of his intention but without further notice, so that he may get other employment.

SUGGESTED AMENDMENTS.

76. There was some discussion before us as to the formulation of rules regarding payment to employees in certain cases when work is stopped on account of the breakdown of engine power, similar to those agreed upon in Lancashire;* and the Millowners' Association in their final draft have incorporated a new rule accordingly. The draft of this rule is as follows :—

New rule as to payment for detention in mill in case of stoppage of work.

" 14. In the event of a stoppage of machinery due to a breakdown or stoppage of the power supply during working hours, the operatives

*Report on Collective Agreements between Employers and Work people in the United Kingdom (1910), page 158.

affected shall be informed, as soon as practicable, when work will be resumed and whether they are to remain or leave the mill. The period of detention in the mill shall not ordinarily exceed one hour after the commencement of the stoppage or breakdown. If the period of detention does not exceed one hour, operatives so detained shall not be paid for the period of detention. If the period of detention in the mill exceeds one hour, operatives so detained shall be entitled to receive wages for the whole of the time during which they are detained in the mill as a result of the stoppage. Operatives shall not be paid during the period of any breakdown or stoppage when they are not detained in the Mill."

77. The right to compensation for detention over one hour, which this proposed rule confers on the operatives, is similar to that contained in the corresponding Lancashire rules; and, in our opinion, it is reasonable that Standing Order 13 should be subject to some provision of this kind. We think, however, it should not be limited to the case of "a stoppage of machinery due to a breakdown or stoppage of the power supply," but should cover any stoppage of the kind mentioned in Standing Order 13. The underlying principle appears to us to apply to all such cases; and the Lancashire Rules are probably confined to a breakdown of machinery, because that is the most common case in which such stoppage occurs. We would, therefore, substitute the words "of any machine or department under Order 13" for the words "of machinery due to a breakdown or stoppage of the power supply" in the first sentence of the rule. The last sentence is, in our opinion, unnecessary, in view of Standing Order 13; and we would substitute for it a provision that in the case of piece-workers, the average daily earnings for the previous month shall be taken to be the wages for 10 hours.

OPINION OF THE COMMITTEE.

78. Subject to the above provisions and alterations, Standing Order 13 can, in our opinion, be accepted as fair and reasonable. We give below our redraft of it, as well as of the new connected rule about compensation for detention in the mill.

RULE AS PROPOSED BY THE COMMITTEE.

"13. The Company may at any time or times and

(*a*) for any period or periods as their discretion in the event of a strike, fire, catastrophe, epidemic or other emergency rendering it necessary or advisable to do so, and

(*b*) for a period not exceeding two days in the event of the state of the trade rendering it necessary to do so,

stop any machine or machines, department or departments. The operatives employed on those machines or in those departments will be "played off", *i.e.*, temporarily stopped without notice and without compensation in lieu of notice, provided that an employee "played off" for a period longer than seven days may leave the Company's service on ntimation of his intention to do so, without any further notice. The mployees so "played off" are not to be considered as dismissed from

service, but are temporarily unemployed and will not be entitled to wages during such unemployment, except to the extent mentioned in Order 13-A. Such employees will be given the first chance of work again on the resumption of work on such machines or departments."

" 13-A. In the event of a stoppage of any machine or department under Order 13 during working hours, the operatives affected shall be informed, as soon as practicable, when work will be resumed and whether they are to remain or leave the mill. The period of detention in the mill shall not ordinarily exceed one hour after the commencement of the stoppage. If the period of detention does not exceed one hour, operatives so detained shall not be paid for the period of detention. If the period of detention in the mill exceeds one hour, operatives so detained shall be entitled to receive wages for the whole of the time during which they are detained in the mill as a result of the stoppage. In the case of piece-workers, the average daily earnings for the previous month shall be taken to be the wages for 10 hours."

Standing Order 14 and first sentence of Standing Order 15.

79. " 14. The service of any operative drawing a monthly wage may be terminated on one month's notice or on payment of one month's wage in lieu of notice. Any operative drawing wages on a daily earning basis may be dismissed on one month's notice or 26 days' earnings (computed on the average earnings of such operatives for the month last passed) in lieu of notice.

Period of Notice for termination of employment.

" 15. Any operative desirous of leaving the Company's service shall, on the last day of the month, or, if that day be a holiday, on the day previous, give one month's notice to the Head of the Department concerned. . . . "

These are in accordance with the Joint Strike Committee's demand No. 13, that one month's notice must be given by either side before terminating the contract of service. But the Joint Strike Committee have since modified their views, and have contended that a shorter period should be allowed for a worker. Thus, in their written statement they say :

" It is true that the Joint Strike Committee has suggested by its Demand No. 13 that there should be a rule for one month's notice for terminating the contract of service. But considering the spirit in which the Millowners have framed these three rules and also taking into consideration some other matters the Joint Strike Committee feels that it will not be in the workers' interest, under the present circumstances, that there should be what amounts to a month's contract of service. The period of contract need not extend beyond one day. Under the present system there is no definite provision by which the workers will become entitled to leave—short or long—and even if there are any rules made for this purpose the grant of leave will depend upon the sole discretion of the Manager and so long as the workers

OBJECTION TO ANY PERIOD OF NOTICE.

are illiterate as at present, we feel that the workers will lose more by rules about notice than they will gain."

Nearly all Mill Rules, which provide for notices, prescribe a month as the period of the notice;* and it would be a considerable alteration of existing conditions to reduce the period to a day. It does not seem to us that this would be in the best interests either of the industry as a whole or of the employees, who could then be legally discharged the following day, whenever it suited the employer. Nor are we aware of any country where such a practice prevails in the Textile Industry. But, in any case, we have only to decide whether the proposed period of the notice is fair and reasonable. The fact that the Joint Strike Committee in the "Seventeen Demands" themselves suggested one month's notice is certainly an argument in favour of an affirmative answer to this question. The Millowners' Association have, however, now agreed to reduce the period of one month to 14 days, and this is a reasonable compromise between the two views.

OPINION OF THE COMMITTEE.

PROPOSAL TO REDUCE PERIOD OF NOTICE TO 14 DAYS.

80. Mr. Bakhale in his first arguments suggested that one week's notice should be all that should be required from an employee. It is true that in Lancashire seven days' notice is the rule, but that is mainly due to wages there being paid weekly, whereas in Bombay they are paid monthly. In Japan, where (according to Mr. Sasakura) wages are paid monthly, the prescribed period of notice of dismissal is 15 days;† and this supports the proposal that the period should be 14 days.

81. Another ground on which the Labour representatives pressed for a reduction of the period of notice is that in some countries an employee can terminate his employment by a shorter notice than that provided in the case of an employer. Thus legislation in Belgium, Luxembourg and Greece was cited to us, under which the period of notice to be given by an employee was half of that prescribed for an employer's notice. The latter period, however, extends to 6 months in certain cases, and this affords some reason for allowing the employee this indulgence. That ground does not properly apply to a case where the period for an employer's notice is only 14 days; and it seems to us desirable that the same period should be prescribed for an employee's notice. Among other things, this period will have the advantage of ordinarily allowing a sufficient time for discussion which may settle disputes between the operatives and the mill management, and thus avoid strikes and lock-outs. We have, however, in effect suggested a reduction of the period of notice from 14 to 7 days in the case of an operative who is "played off" (see paragraph 75). Apart from that special case, it is in our opinion clearly equitable to have the

QUESTION OF PREFERENTIAL TREATMENT FOR EMPLOYEES.

OPINION OF THE COMMITTEE.

* Report on an Enquiry into Deductions from Wages or Payments in respect of Fines by the Labour Office of the Government of Bombay, 1928, p. 15.

† "Labour Conditions in Japan" by Shuichi Harada, 1928, p. 255.

same period for both sides. We accordingly have no hesitation in holding that these Standing Orders are fair and reasonable as regards the period of 14 days now proposed for each side.

82. In view of this reduction in the period of notice, Mr. Caroe agreed that the Standing Order 14 should be re-drafted as follows:—

SUGGESTED RE-DRAFT.

"The service of any operative may be terminated by 14 days' notice, or by payment of 13 days' wages in lieu of notice. If he draws wages on a piece-rate basis, the 13 days' wages shall be computed on the average daily earnings of such operative for the previous calendar month." This contemplates the case of an operative who is on a daily-earning basis as a time-worker, as well as that of one who is on a piece-rate basis. The reference in the draft of the Millowners' Association to operatives "drawing a monthly wage" was liable to misunderstanding, and has been avoided.

83. It is pointed out in the written statement of the Joint Strike Committee that, although the worker by rule No. 15 can give notice only on the last day of the month, the employer by rule No. 14 is permitted to give notice on any day. It was stated in the course of the discussion that the object of requiring an employee to give notice on the last day of the month was to save the mill trouble; but it was conceded that it was equitable that, if an employer could give notice on any day of the month, an employee should have the same liberty. It was accordingly agreed that the words "on the last day of the month, or, if that day be a holiday, on the day previous" in Standing Order No. 15 should be deleted.

DATE ON WHICH NOTICE SHOULD BE GIVEN.

84. Subject to the above alterations, we think Standing Order 14 and the first sentence of Standing Order 15 are fair and reasonable.

Standing Order 15 (Remainder).

85. "15. .... The wages due to such an operative must be paid within three days after the expiry of the notice; if more than 20 per cent. of the operatives in a department give notices simultaneously, the period of three days to be extended to one week. If any permanent operative leaves without such notice he shall forfeit the whole or part of the wages due to him for the month at the discretion of the Manager by way of liquidated damages."

Period within which wages should be paid on termination of notice.

Forfeiture of Wages.

The Strike Committee object to both of the above provisions. They say the wages should be paid on the day on which the employee leaves after notice. This is certainly desirable in the employee's interests, but it was pointed out that it is difficult to do so, if he works right up to the closing time of the mill. We think that there clearly may be cases where

it would be impracticable to pay on the day when the notice expires, but that it is fair that the mill authorities should endeavour to do so, as they will know the exact date a good time ahead. We therefore propose that the words " if possible, be paid on the day the notice expires and in any case " should be substituted for the words " be paid " in this Standing Order.

SUGGESTED AMENDMENTS AS TO PAYMENT OF WAGES.

86 We also propose that the words " if more than 20 per cent. of the operatives in a department give notice simultaneously, the period of three days to be extended to one week " should be deleted, as in our opinion, a maximum period of three days should suffice in all cases.

87. Strong objection has been taken by the Joint Strike Committee to the last paragraph of this Standing Order, allowing forfeiture of wages, if an operative leaves without the requisite notice; and in their written statement they suggest that such a rule may be declared void in law. No doubt, in England there are special statutory provisions under which, in the case of children, young persons or women within the scope of the Factory and Workshop Acts, no forfeiture, on the ground of absence or leaving work, may be deducted from any claim for wages due for work already done, except to the amount of any damage sustained by the employer by reason of such absence or leaving work;* but there is no corresponding law in India. Otherwise the English law recognises the legality of a contract of service providing that the master may retain any wages, due to the servant at the time of the breach, as liquidated damages;† and this covers the case of all adult male operatives in factories in England. The legality of such a forfeiture clause has in fact been declared by the High Court of Bombay in *Aryodaya S. and W. Co.* v. *Siva Virchand*, 13 Bombay Law Reporter 19. In that case the plaintiff, a jobber in the defendant Company's service, served it from the 1st October to the 2nd November 1908, when he left the service without any notice. Under the rules of the Company, it was incumbent upon him to give the Company 15 days' notice before he left the service, failing which he would not be entitled to the wages due. The plaintiff then sued the Company to recover his wages for the period during which he served. The lower Court held that the above rule was a forfeiture clause, which the Court should not enforce, and decreed the plaintiff's claim. The High Court held, rejecting the plaintiff's claim, that the above rule contained nothing illegal and nothing contrary to public policy; but it was a part of the contract, which the plaintiff with his eyes open made with the defendant and by which he was bound. There is a similar decision of the Calcutta High Court in *Empress of India Cotton Mills Co.* v. *Naffer Chunder Roy*, 2 Calcutta Weekly Notes, 687.

FORFEITURE OF WAGES IN CASES WHERE EMPLOYMENT IS TERMINATED WITHOUT NOTICE.

WHETHER SUCH A PROVISION IS LEGAL.

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* Halsbury's Laws of England, Vol. 20, Article 171, p. 91.

† Halsbury's Laws of England, Vol. 20, Article 212, pp. 107-108.

88 Treating the clause, therefore, as a legal one, the question of its fairness and advisability has to be next considered. The Joint Strike Committee's written statement says :

WHETHER FORFEITURE IS FAIR.

"If the employer dismisses an employee without notice and does not pay for want of notice the employee has to go to Court. Similarly the employer should go to Court if the employee does not give notice or he may compel the employee to go to Court, as the employer generally does, by withholding wages earned."

We do not, however, accept this view as a reasonable one. If it is justifiable that the employer should have the power of forfeiting the whole or part of the employee's wages, we do not think that he should be compelled to go to court to enforce the forfeiture. This would mean a virtual denial of the right in all cases where the employee disappeared and could not be traced after receiving his full wages ; and the employer would probably find it difficult to recover the amount forfeited, even when he had obtained a decree.

89. It has been argued that this will not give exact reciprocity to an employee, who is discharged without the proper notice, because he will not ordinarily have in his hands any money belonging to the employer from which a deduction can be made on account of damages. But this is not, in our opinion, a sufficient ground for depriving the employer of a remedy which (as already mentioned) is perfectly legal in this country.

QUESTION OF RECIPROCITY.

90. There is much force in the contention of Mr. Caroe that, unless some such power of forfeiture is given, the rule about an operative giving notice will be practically nullified, because he will have a right to draw the wages due to him, and the Company can only sue him for breach of contract, which it would seldom be worth while doing. In all the circumstances, we are of opinion that it is reasonable there should be this power of forfeiture allowed in the Standing Order. The maximum period for which wages can be forfeited under the rule does not exceed the period of the prescribed notice, just as is the case in the Lancashire Mill Rules, No. 2 ;* and the reduction of the period of notice, under Standing Orders 14 and 15, to 14 days will correspondingly limit the penalty of forfeiture. To show clearly, however, that this penalty need not be inflicted, we would

OPINION OF COMMITTEE AS TO FORFEITURE OF WAGES.

*1. Every person employed (except persons casually employed or working as substitutes for sick or absent workpeople) shall give seven days' notice in writing previous to leaving, such notice to be given to the Employer or Employers on a Wednesday, and at no other time ; and except as hereinafter provided, the Employer or Employers will give every person in his or their employment (except persons casually employed or working as substitutes for sick or absent workpeople) a similar notice to terminate such employment ; the notice to expire in either case on the closing of the Mill on the following Wednesday.

2. In case any person shall leave his or her employment without giving the notice aforesaid, the Employer or Employers shall be entitled to reasonable compensation for damages sustained, but such damages shall not exceed an amount equal to one week's average wages of the person so leaving.

substitute the words " be liable to forfeit " for the word " forfeit. " We also think that it should be provided that the operative should, if possible, be heard before any order of forfeiture is passed. This will follow the rule laid down in *Armstrong* v. *South London Tramways Company* (1890, 74 L. T. 96). The last sentence should, in our opinion, accordingly run :—

" If any permanent operative leaves without notice, he shall be liable to forfeit by way of liquidated damages at the discretion of the Manager the whole or part of the wages due to him for the 14 days immediately prior to his so leaving provided that no such order of forfeiture shall be passed without giving the operative an opportunity of being heard, if he is present or his attendance can be procured without undue difficulty."

Suggested Re-draft.

Subject to these recommendations, we think there is no reasonable objection to this part of the Standing Order.

91. We think the following new Standing Order, which we provisionally number 15-A, should be inserted to provide for payment of unclaimed wages, as stated in paragraph 135 below regarding Demand No. 9 of the Joint Strike Committee :—

New Rule as to Payment of unclaimed wages.

" Any wages due to an operative but not paid on account of their being unclaimed will be paid by the Company at any time on their being claimed by the operative or his legal representatives, subject to the operative being sufficiently identified. "

Standing Orders 16 and 20.

92 " 16. Each jobber will be deemed to have knowledge of the rules under the Indian Factories Act as regards the employment of women and children and will be personally responsible to see those Rules are not infringed."

Responsibility of Jobbers for infringement of Factories Act.

" 20. Each Overseer, Jobber or Muccadum will be personally held responsible for the proper and faithful observance of the special rules made under the Factories Act and posted in the mill, particularly regarding the employment and working of women and children under him."

These cover much the same ground, and rule 16 seems superfluous. It has been agreed that it should be deleted accordingly. No objections have been taken by the Joint Strike Committee to these rules, and they appear proper, provided of course the management takes due steps to explain the provisions of the Factories Act and the rules under it to the Jobbers, etc. The " personal responsibility " mentioned in the Standing Orders will not, of course, protect the millowner or the Manager from prosecution and conviction under the Factories Act for any offence against that Act, unless the conditions specified in section 42 of the Act are satisfied.

Standing Order 17, paragraph 1.

93. " 17. Any operative who is adjudged by the Manager on examination of the man, if present, and of the facts to be guilty of misconduct is liable to be summarily dismissed without notice, or, at the Manager's discretion, to be fined."

Penalties for Misconduct.

The Joint Strike Committee say regarding this :

" The first part of the rule refers to the examination of the man who may be dismissed or fined. We are against giving the manager the powers which can only be exercised by Courts. The Manager's powers should not go beyond discharging an employee with notice."

Objection to power of Manager to dismiss an employee for Misconduct.

The extreme position there taken up, that the Manager should not have the power of dismissal for misconduct, was not adopted in the arguments before us ; and the ordinary rules of " Master and Servant " allow immediate dismissal for wilful disobedience to the lawful and reasonable order of the master, or misconduct, inconsistent with the due and faithful discharge by the servant of the duties on which he was engaged.* The master decides whether there has been such disobedience or misconduct, and takes the risk of being sued for wrongful dismissal. The rule is, in this respect, in accordance with English and Indian law.

94. Objection has also been taken to the provision regarding examination of the operative by the Manager. Mr. Bakhale and Mr. S. C. Joshi urged that he should be given an opportunity of being represented through his Trade Union, especially as the Millowners have agreed to recognise registered trade unions. The Millowners' Association object to the manager having to wait till a Trade Union representative is brought, and in our opinion there is no reasonable ground for depriving the Manager of the power of immediate dismissal, which the law gives him ; if the operative is dismissed by the Manager, he can go to his Trade Union, and the latter can take the usual steps to represent the man's case to the mill authorities, just as he can go to a pleader and get his case put up before the Managing Agents, to whom an appeal lies.

Opinion of the Committee.

95. Mr. S. C. Joshi further suggested that the operative should be given a charge sheet, regarding the particular misconduct alleged against him. This would be putting the Manager's enquiry on a par with a criminal trial, and such elaboration is not, in our opinion, necessary or reasonable in the case of a dismissal of a mill-hand. Under Standing Order 18 the Manager will have to give a written order of dismissal, stating his reasons, and this and the right of appeal will provide a safeguard against abuse of the power of dismissal.

96. We think this part of the Standing Order is fair and reasonable, and that to make the procedure more elaborate would deprive the

*Halsbury's Laws of England, Vol. 20, Articles 190, 191 ; pp. 98, 99.

Manager of a power of immediate dismissal that it is advisable he should have in the interests of proper discipline.

97. This paragraph also covers the power to fine an operative. The question whether fines should be allowed can best be dealt with under Standing Order 18.

Standing Order 17, paragraph 2.

Acts or omissions to be treated as Misconduct.

98. "17.....The following acts or omissions will be treated as misconduct, namely :—

"(*a*) Insubordination or disobedience whether alone or in combination with another or others to a superior or to the Manager ;

"(*b*) Striking work either singly or with other operatives without giving one month's previous notice ;

"(*c*) Inciting whilst on the premises any operative to strike work without giving one month's previous notice ;

"(*d*) Habitual breach of any rules for the maintenance and running of any department and maintaining its cleanliness ; and

"(*e*) Theft."

Insubordination or disobedience.

It is objected that the words "insubordination or disobedience" in clause (*a*) are too wide, and ought to be defined. In our opinion, it would be dangerous to attempt to do this, for it would be almost impossible to draft a definition that would cover all cases properly falling under this head. We think, however, that the word "wilful" should be inserted before "insubordination", and the words "any lawful and reasonable order of a superior or of the Manager" should be substituted for "a superior or to the Manager". This will then put the clause in line with the rule of law that wilful disobedience to the lawful and reasonable order of the master justifies summary dismissal.*

Striking work without notice.

99. Clauses (*b*) and (*c*) relate to striking without giving a month's previous notice. The Joint Strike Committee's written statement says "To treat strike without notice as misconduct is against the right of workers to go on strike as secured by the Indian Trade Unions Act."

Applicability of Section 18 of Indian Trade Unions Act, 1926.

Sub-section (1) of section 18 of the Act of 1926 is relied on for this view. This, however, seems to be a clear misapprehension. The sub-section protects a member of a registered Trade Union from being sued or prosecuted "*on the ground only*" that the act complained of "induces *some other person* to break a contract of employment", or that it is an interference with the trade, etc., of "*some other person.*" It does not for instance protect such a member from being sued for the act of himself breaking a contract of employment, or from being prosecuted for criminal intimidation in respect of an act which incites others to break a contract of employment. This is made quite clear by proviso (*ii*) to section 2 of the Act which says that the Act

* Halsbury's Laws of England, Vol. 20, Article 190, p. 98.

" shall not affect any agreement between an employer and those employed by him as to such employment." Sub-section (1) of section 18 is based on the corresponding provisions of section 3 of the English Trades Disputes Act, 1906 (6 Edw. 7, cap. 47), which was passed with the main object of relieving trade unions of the liabilities to which they were subject under the decision of the House of Lords in the well-known Taff Vale case, and which does not affect individual liability for breach of contract. We may cite the following remarks of Sir John Simon in regard to the connected section 4 of the English Trade Disputes Act, 1906 :—

> " The actions which are thus barred are limited to actions 'against a trade union', either because named in the writ as defendant or because sued in a representative action. Actions against individuals who commit wrongs, whether ordinary members or officials, and whether acting on their own behalf or under instructions, are quite unaffected—though as regards the giving of orders to stop work, in contemplation or furtherance of a trade dispute, section 3 of the Act of 1906 has to be borne in mind. Since no one would bring an action for damages except in the hope of receiving them, the substance of the matter is to protect Trade Union funds from paying damages in the case of actions for tort, while leaving individual liability untouched."*

QUESTION OF LEGALITY OF STRIKING WITHOUT NOTICE.

100. It has no doubt been laid down in England that what is now known as a lightning strike is not necessarily illegal, see *White* v. *Riley*, 1921, 1 Chancery, 1 and Halsbury's Laws of England, Vol. 27, Article 1140, pages 601-603. It was at one time stated by Mr. Caroe that there is nothing in the law which prevents the workmen from going on strike without giving notice; but this is a statement which must clearly be qualified. It is true to the extent that the law in India does not *penalise* sudden strikes, except in cases covered by Chapter XIX of the Indian Penal Code, or, in the case of public utility services, covered by Bombay Act No. V of 1890 and the proposed enactment in clause 15 (1) of the Indian Trade Disputes Bill. It is also possibly true, if the contract of employment is for no fixed period, or contains no stipulation as to the giving of a notice in order to determine it, because in that case it may be customary for either party to end the contract whenever he chooses. But, apart from any such custom, the general rule of law is that, if length of notice is not provided for in the contract, it is an implied term that the contract can be determined only by either party giving reasonable notice: *Cf. Paygu, Ltd.* v. *Hannaford*, (1918) 2 K. B. 348. And the statement is certainly not true regarding a strike that involves breach of contract by the employees, such as will be the case when they strike without first giving the notice requisite under their contracts to legalise their absenting themselves from work without leave. A "lightning strike" is in this sense unlawful; and the employees concerned are liable to be sued for damages for breach of contract. We do not think we can put the case clearer than Sir John Simon did

* "The General Strike" by the Rt. Hon. Sir John Simon, M.P., 1926, Appendix V, page 89.

in his well-known speech in the House of Commons on May 6th, 1926, when he denounced the illegality of a "General Strike." He said:

"A strike, properly understood, is perfectly lawful. The right to strike is the right of workmen in combination, by pre-arrangement, *to give due notice to their employers to terminate their engagements, and to withhold their labour when these notices have expired.* That is what the right to strike is. When that happens, as it has sometimes happened—as it has often happened in the history of this country—neither the workmen nor the Trade Union leaders are breaking any law; and I hold, and I hope that at this time of day most people hold, that it is an essential part of the rights of the British wage-earner that he should have the right to strike, and that it never ought to be taken away from him."*

OPINION OF COMMITTEE.

101. Accordingly, we are of opinion that there is legal justification for the proposal to make "striking work either singly or with other operatives without giving one month's previous notice" an act which can be treated as misconduct, rendering an operative liable to summary dismissal. This is in accordance with the ordinary law regarding wilful disobedience of a servant, which we have already cited and which covers refusal to work according to the conditions of employment. We also think it is desirable that the employees should have it brought to their notice in the Standing Orders that a lightning strike is a breach of their contract of employment, for which they are liable to be summarily dismissed. A provision to that effect is contained in many existing Mill Rules, although in practice this penalty is seldom, if ever, resorted to in Bombay.

Incitement to strike work without notice.

102. As to head (*c*) of this Standing Order, incitement to strike work without due notice by operatives on the premises is also unlawful to the same extent as the striking mentioned in head (*b*). Section 18 of the Indian Trade Unions Act, 1926, at the most only protects an operative, who is a member or officer of a registered Trade Union, from being sued in a civil court on the sole ground of such incitement, and does not prevent his being dismissed for misconduct. We consider that such conduct should equally render the operative liable to dismissal.

REFUSAL TO WORK WHEN JUSTIFIABLE.

103. In making the above remarks, we should not be taken as laying down that a sudden refusal to work is never justified. If, for instance, an operative is asked to do some work, which is entirely outside the terms of his contract, and he refuses, there would be no disobedience amounting

*"The General Strike" by Sir John Simon; speech of May 6th, 1926, pages 2 and 3. See also the footnote to Greenwood's Handbook of Industrial Law (1916), at page 109: "It should not, however, be forgotten that workmen leaving work without serving the notice agreed upon in their contracts of service are liable to pay damages for breach of contract; and proceedings to recover such damages may be brought either in a county court or in a police court." It may be added that the law has been laid down in the same way in the United States of America. Cf. *Parkinson Co.* v. *Building Trades Council*, decided by the Supreme Court of California in 1908, cited in Sayre, Cases of Labour Law, (1922), pages 150 to 153.

to misconduct; and the Standing Order could not be properly applied to such a case. On the other hand, that would not justify his refusing to do all other work which he has undertaken to do, provided he is not prevented from doing it by the employer.

104. It should be added that the period of one month mentioned in heads (*b*) and (*c*) should be reduced to 14 days, in accordance with the alteration effected in Standing Orders 14 and 15.

Habitual breach of Departmental Rules.

105. There is, we think, no reasonable objection to clause (*d*), provided the rules referred to are not inconsistent with any of the Standing Orders, as we have provided in the Proviso to the substituted rule 22 that we have drawn up in discussing Standing Order 4. The Joint Strike Committee's written statement says that punishment under this rule can only be justified if previous warning is given; but this is implied by the word "habitual."

Theft.

106. As to clause (*e*), we think that "theft" unnecessarily restricts the cases in which there should be power to dismiss for fraud or dishonesty. This is, as already mentioned, a case in which a master has by law power to dismiss a servant summarily. We are of opinion, therefore, that the clause should be amplified by the addition of the words "fraud or dishonesty in connection with the Company's business or property." (*Cf.* Halsbury's Laws of England, Vol. 20, Article 191, page 99.)

SUGGESTED ADDITION TO THE CLAUSE.

107. It is said in the Strike Committee's written statements that the offence of theft must be proved in a Court of Law or admitted by the employee in writing. In our opinion, this would be an absurd restriction to impose. There is no reason why the Manager should be put in a worse position than any other master, who can act on a *bona fide* enquiry and belief about a servant's dishonesty, subject of course to a liability to be sued for wrongful dismissal. We accordingly accept this part of Standing Order No. 17 as fair and reasonable, subject to the alterations we have proposed.

SUGGESTED ADDITION TO THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE RULE.

108. There is another alteration that we consider should be made in order to improve the draft. It is advisable to state clearly in the Standing Order that the acts or omissions detailed in heads (*a*) to (*e*) are not intended to be an exhaustive definition of misconduct within the meaning of the Standing Order. It would be obviously dangerous to attempt the alternative of making an exhaustive category of all acts and omissions, which could properly be treated as such misconduct. We think, therefore, that the words "among other things justifying summary dismissal under the ordinary law of Master and Servant" should be inserted between "acts or omissions" and "will be" at the beginning of the Standing Order.

Standing Order 18.

109. "18. Operatives will ordinarily be fined after being heard (but the acts on being repeated or in any gross case may be treated as misconduct under Order 17) for any of the following offences, namely :—

Offences for which Operatives are liable to be fined.

(*a*) Absence without leave for more than three days without sufficient cause ;

(*b*) Negligence in work or neglect of work ;

(*c*) Smoking on the mill premises except in places where smoking is permitted ;

(*d*) Entering or leaving or attempting to enter or leave the mill premises except by the gate provided for that purpose ;

(*e*) Habitual late attendance ;

(*f*) Absence without leave without sufficient cause from appointed work in the mill ;

(*g*) Quarrelling or behaving in a noisy or obnoxious manner or doing anything likely to cause a breach of the peace ; and

(*h*) Taking bribes from or giving bribes to any other operative or person employed in the mill, or from or to any other person having dealings with the Company as a motive or reward for doing or omitting to do any act, the performance or omission whereof would be prejudicial to the interests of the Company.

"The total amount of fines inflicted under this Rule (18) during any particular month shall in no case exceed 2 per cent. of the operative's total earnings for that month."

PROPOSED ABOLITION OF FINES.

The main objection taken to this Standing Order is that the system of fining an operative as a punishment is inadvisable, and should be abolished. This is a question which has already been referred to in our remarks regarding Standing Order 6. The majority (three-fourths) of the Truck Committee of 1906, as already mentioned, came to the conclusion that the time had not arrived for totally abolishing the system of dealing with small offences by means of fines, but it recommended that the system should be placed under such restrictions and conditions as would prevent it being a source of profit to the employer on the one hand or the cause of improper and harsh treatment to the worker.* They made certain proposals accordingly, such as that the maximum fine or accumulation of fines in any one week permissible by law should not exceed 5 per cent. of the wages of the worker ; that deductions by instalments should be prohibited ; and that fines should be abolished altogether in the case of young persons of 16 years of age and under.

110. The Government of India addressed the local Governments on the subject of deductions from wages or payments in respect of fines in June 1926 ; and opinions were called for thereon by the Bombay Labour Office. A summary of the classified views given by the principal non-official organisations consulted is contained in the *Labour Gazette* of

* Report of the Truck Committee, Vol. I, para. 64, page 28.

August 1927 at pages 1103-1129. It will be seen that opinion among the Labour Unions consulted was not unanimously in favour of the total abolition of fines as a means of maintaining discipline. Thus the Ahmedabad Textile Labour Union expressed the following opinion :—

" Owing to the particular circumstances under which Indian workmen are situated, the Union does not consider it advisable to advocate a wholesale legal ban on every system of fines, and it recognises the inadvisability of completely depriving the employers of their power to fine.

" In an educated self-respecting community of workers, public opinion, reputation, reward, sense of fairness and desire to excel would effectively replace all modes of punishment as incentives or motives for good work. In India the workpeople's standard of life and intelligence is rather low. The supervising staff must not beat, abuse or otherwise illtreat workmen. They should not dismiss workmen except in extreme cases and in the last resort. In these circumstances a wholesale legal ban on every system of fine cannot be advocated with reason."

Similarly, the Girni Kamgar Mahamandal said :

" Although the majority of the members of our Union would welcome a total abolition of all fines—and it would not be human nature if it would be otherwise—my Committee after a very careful consideration of this question are of the opinion that it is necessary in view of the present condition of education in this country that employers should retain some active power in their hands wherewith to command discipline."

OPINION OF THE COMMITTEE.

111. In our opinion, there is considerable force in the view that, having regard to the low level of intelligence of most of the Indian workers in the mills in Bombay, it would be inadvisable to abolish fining, and that the time has not yet come when the management of a mill can safely rely entirely on mere supervision and cautioning as a substitute.

There is also no reliable evidence that the power of fining employees in the Bombay textile mills is generally abused. The Labour Office Report of its enquiry into deductions from wages or payments in respect of fines (1928) contains a table on page 25, which shows that during the first ten months of 1926 the total amount of fines for breaches of discipline in the 31 mills, which supplied apparently accurate figures, was as follows :—

Subject of deduction	Numbers of instances in which deductions were made from the wages of employees.		Total amount of deductions	
——	Men	Women	Men	Women
			Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Breaches of discipline or establishment rules.	10,927	4,162	2,460 5 0	641 7 0

The incidence of fining per offence thus amounted to only Re. 0-3-7 in the case of men and Re. 0-2-6 in the case of women. The incidence could not have been very different in the other 22 mills from which statistics were collected, as the total incidence of fines under all heads worked out at only Re. 0-5-2 for men and Re. 0-2-9 for women. These figures cover the fines inflicted for bad or negligent work, which probably raised the proportion for men considerably; thus the Labour Office Report of 1928 shows that, in the case of the other 31 mills, the incidence of Re. 0-3-7 for disciplinary fines on men was raised to a total of Re. 0-4-6.

RATIO OF FINES TO WAGES.

112. We think therefore that, unless and until the Legislature decides in favour of the total abolition of fines in factories in India, the general principle underlying Standing Order 18 should be accepted as fair and reasonable. We come to this conclusion the more readily because of the specific provision in the Standing Order that "the total amount of fines inflicted under this Rule during any particular month shall in no case exceed 2 per cent. of the operative's total earnings for that month." This ratio of 2 per cent. compares favourably with the one of 5 per cent. which was recommended by the majority of the Truck Committee*. We consider, however, that the Factory Inspectors in Bombay should be instructed by Government to check some of the cases of fines inflicted in each mill, with a view to seeing that this ratio is observed in practice. A similar supervision is exercised by Factory Inspectors in England [see section 13 of the Truck Act of 1887, and the penultimate sub-para. of paragraph 66 (1), at page 29 of the Truck Committee Report of 1906]. For this purpose, the Millowners' Association might be asked to see that each mill keeps a register of fines, with appropriate headings, so that the proportion that the total fines bear to the monthly earnings of the operative can be seen at a glance.

SUGGESTED SUPERVISION BY FACTORY INSPECTORS.

SUGGESTED REGISTER OF FINES.

SMOKING ON MILL PREMISES.

113. There has not been any effective criticism of the various heads (*a*) to (*h*) for which fines may be inflicted under the Standing Order. They conform with the existing practice and appear to us suitable. Some objection was taken to head (*c*) regarding "smoking on the mill premises except in places where smoking is permitted"; but in view of the danger of smoking near inflammable materials—which is an offence under sections 17 and 43 (*b*) of the Factories Act—we think that the mill management should have power to penalise smoking except in places where it considers there is no such danger. As regards head (*f*), we would substitute "or without other sufficient excuse" for the words "without sufficient cause" (Cf. our recommendation in paragraph 53 regarding Standing Order 8). We also think there should be added a clause corresponding to head (*d*) of Standing Order 17, but with the

SUGGESTED ADDITIONS TO RULE.

* Report of the Truck Committee, Vol. I, paragraph 66, page 29.

omission of the word "habitual." This is advisable, as otherwise there will be no power to fine for a breach of any rules for the maintenance and running of any department and maintaining its cleanliness, unless it is "habitual," even though it may be a breach of a gross kind. This might be inserted between heads (*g*) and (*h*).

DISPOSAL OF FINES.

114. It was agreed by the Millowners' Association that all fines should be credited to a Mill Welfare Fund or utilised in some way for the benefit of the employees, and we think this should be embodied in the rule by adding the words "All fines imposed under this Order will be credited to a Welfare Fund and utilised for such benefit or benefits to the operatives as the Company may determine."

Who should have the power to fine.

115. For the reasons given under Standing Order 19, we think a paragraph should be added to the effect that "no fine shall be inflicted by an officer lower than the Head of the Department in which the operative fined is employed."

Compulsory Purchase of Damaged Material.

116. Closely connected with this subject, is the practice that exists in many mills to compel a weaver to take over cloth spoilt by defective workmanship, the full value of such cloth being recovered from him and credited to the mill, and the weaver having then to dispose of the cloth as best he can.

OPINION OF THE TARIFF BOARD.

LABOUR OFFICE ENQUIRY.

117. This practice was strongly condemned by the Tariff Board in paragraph 64 of their Report, and they recommended that it should be abolished, as the advantage which the mills derive from it is entirely incommensurate with the soreness it causes. This was one of the matters investigated by the Labour Office, as a result of the letter of the Government of India already mentioned; and certain opinions collected on the point will be found at pages 1117-1120 of the Labour Gazette for August 1927. The Bombay Textile Labour Union, the Girni Kamgar Mahamandal and the Social Service League were of opinion that the system should be stopped; the Ahmedabad Textile Labour Union and the Bombay European Textile Association suggested that it should be left to the choice of the employee whether to purchase the damaged cloth or suffer a fine or other penalty; while the Millowners' Associations supported the system, stating that the weavers in fact preferred it to a fine. The Association has taken up the same position before us, and Mr. Stones stated that he had tried the experiment of giving up the practice, with the result of a rapid depreciation in quality, so that he had to give it up. There is something to be said on both sides; and as the whole question of prohibiting the practice is before the Government of India, we might refrain from expressing any opinion upon its advisability. The question has, however, been very fully discussed before us, and we have also had some evidence given regarding it. We therefore think it right to consider the question, especially as it has arisen in

connection with the Standing Orders. In paragraph 5 of the Terms formulated by the Millowners' Association in May 1928, it is stated :—

"Where faulty cloth is handed over to weavers, this will be left in the hands of some responsible officer not lower in rank than Assistant Weaving Master."

118. It was agreed by the representatives of the Millowners' Association in the course of the proceedings on the 7th of December 1928 that the Standing Orders should include a rule accordingly, and the final draft submitted by the Millowners' Association proposes a new rule as follows :—

New Rule proposed by Millowners on this subject.

"The Company shall be entitled to debit a weaver's wages with the cost of cloth damaged by the negligence of the weaver concerned. The piece or pieces damaged shall become the property of the weaver. The decision to debit the wages of a weaver with the cost of damaged cloth under this rule shall be made by an officer of the Company not lower in rank than an Assistant Weaving Master."

119. On the other hand, the Joint Strike Committee strenuously urge that the practice is unfair to the weaver, and should be stopped. We have had evidence given that the practice does not exist in all mills in Bombay; and the figures of deductions under this head made in the first 10 months of 1926, which are given at page 28 of the Labour Office Report of its enquiry, apparently cover only 24 mills out of 76 in Bombay, which furnished detailed returns. The total reported deductions came to Rs. 80,960 in 17,513 instances, or an average of Rs. 8,096 a month and of Rs. 4-10-0 per instance. There can be no doubt that the practice is liable to considerable abuse, and it has often given rise to industrial unrest. The weaver constantly feels that he has been unjustly penalized for damage caused from reasons which were beyond his control, and asserts that his protests are not heeded. There may be no real attempt to determine whether pieces of cloth have been spoilt owing to the worker's negligence, or on account of defective machinery, bad raw material or carelessness in some other department; and there is a natural tendency of employers to decide such cases in their favour. The worker may not be able to dispose of the spoilt or damaged material except at a considerable loss, and the incidence of the fine thus inflicted on him may be very heavy. No doubt there may be some cases where weavers benefit by getting slightly damaged cloth, which they can keep for their own use or dispose of at a profit; but we think that the objections to the practice outweigh its utility. It might be different if some machinery could be set up for investigating disputed cases, of the kind suggested by Mr. Bakhale, *i.e.*, that the spoilt cloth should be examined by a responsible officer of the mill in consultation with a trade union official, or some employee in the mill in whom the workers have confidence.

OBJECTIONS TO THE PRACTICE.

OPINION OF THE COMMITTEE AS TO COMPULSION

We are afraid, however, that it will be impracticable to arrange this, unless there is some limit put on the number of cases to be referred, *e.g.*, by restricting them to cases where an amount of Rs. 5 or over is in issue; for the figures cited above indicate that there would otherwise be probably well over 1,000 cases a month. In these circumstances, we have come to the conclusion that, without some such machinery, it is unfair to the weaver that his employer should have this power to compel him to take over the damaged material, and that the practice should be confined to cases where the weaver has no objection to so taking it over.

WHETHER EMPLOYER SHOULD HAVE POWER TO FINE OR MAKE DEDUCTIONS FROM WAGES.

120. On the other hand, we think it would be clearly unreasonable for the employer not to have power to recover compensation for damage caused by the negligence of a weaver, by fine or deduction from his wages. In England, it has long been held to be a contravention of the Truck Act of 1831 to make a weaver take over a piece of spoiled cloth at the value it would have, if perfect (*Smith v. Walton*, 1877, 3 C. P. D. 109); but on the other hand the employer in a Lancashire Cotton Mill can deduct a sum equivalent to the loss caused to him by a weaver's negligence from his wages (*Riversdale Mill Company, Ltd. v. Hart*, 1926, 43 T. L. R. 73). This accords with the recommendation of the majority of the Truck Committee of 1906 in paragraph 87 of their Report that the employer should be allowed to deal with cases of careless or negligent work in the same way and under the same conditions as he would be allowed to deal with breaches of discipline. This, in effect, is what may be considered to be authorised by head (*b*) of Standing Order 18. The limit of 2 per cent. of an operative's total earnings for a month, which is imposed by that Standing Order, would, however, be too small to cover such loss in most cases. Thus if the weaver's wages are Rs. 50 a month, the most he could be fined during the whole month would be Re. 1. We therefore think that a separate provision should be made for fines for damaged cloth, which (as in Lancashire) should be fixed on a compensatory basis, not exceeding the estimated loss to the mill owing to the damage. If the worker elects to take over the damaged material rather than pay the fine, this can be done. If he disputes his liability for the damage, and the amount of fine inflicted exceeds a sum, which we tentatively suggest might be Rs. 5, then provision should be made for the joint examination of the cloth by an officer of the mill and a representative of the weavers, who may be either an employee in the mill or an official of a registered Trade Union. If they differ as to their decision, then there might be a reference to an independent person (if available); otherwise the Manager would have to decide whether to enforce the proposed fine or not, and his decision would of course be subject to the usual checks of the possibility of a strike or a law-suit. We realise that there are difficulties in the way of our proposal; but we put it forward in the hope that it may at

OPINION OF THE COMMITTEE.

least afford a basis for some agreement between the Millowners' Association and the Labour representatives on the subject. Pending an attempt to come to such an agreement, we do not recommend any addition to the Standing Orders of the kind proposed by the Association in rule 23 of their final draft. We think it would be fairer to have some such rule as follows :—

TENTATIVE SUGGESTION FOR A RULE ON THIS SUBJECT.

> " The Company shall not be entitled to debit a weaver's wages with the cost of cloth damaged by his negligence, unless he elects to take it over on those terms. Otherwise the Company may deduct from his wages an amount corresponding to the estimated loss caused to it by such negligence, provided that, if the proposed deduction exceeds the sum of Rs.....or the weaver disputes the damage being due to his negligence, the deduction shall not be made by an officer of the Company lower in rank than an Assistant Weaving Master. If the latter officer directs a deduction of Rs.....or over, and the weaver disputes his liability to pay the same, there shall be a joint examination of the damaged cloth by such officer of the Company as the Manager appoints and a representative of the weavers, who may be either an employee of the Company or an official of a registered Trade Union. If they agree in their decision, the Manager shall accept their decision. If they disagree, and there is no independent person to whom the Manager and the weavers' representative agree to refer the dispute, the Manager shall decide what amount (if any) shall be deducted from the weaver's wages. "

We do not incorporate this in our redraft of the Standing Orders, as there is no rule on the subject in the draft referred to us, and the above is in the nature of a tentative proposal.

Standing Order 19.

121. "19. The order and the reasons for fine or dismissal of any operative shall be in writing and shall be dated and signed in the case of a fine by the Head of the Department concerned, and in case of dismissal by the Manager, and shall, in the event of a fine, state the amount. A copy of such order, if demanded, should be supplied to the operative. "

Order for dismissal or fine to be in writing.

Mr. Saklatvala stated that the intention of this Standing Order is that the Head of the Department (*e.g.*, the Spinning Master or Weaving Master) should have not only the duty of signing orders in the case of fines but also the power to pass such an order. We think that this is reasonable, but it should be made clear in the Standing Order. We have made an addition accordingly to Standing Order 18.

122. The Joint Strike Committee in their written statement say " The copy of the order of the fine must be supplied in all cases not only when demanded. The right of appeal in the case of dismissal and fine must be specifically mentioned." We think that a copy of an order of *dismissal* should be given to the

WHETHER COPY OF ORDER SHOULD BE GIVEN TO THE OPERATIVE CONCERNED.

operative concerned in every case, unless this is impracticable owing to his absence or other sufficient reason, but that it is sufficient to provide for a copy of the order of *fine* being given, if demanded. The right of appeal from a decision of the *Manager* to the Managing Agents is already conferred by Standing Order 3, but this will not in terms cover cases where fine is inflicted by the Head of a Department. On the other hand, Rule 3 implies that any question arising under the Standing Order can be brought before the Manager; and accordingly we consider that an appeal should be allowed to the Manager, in any case where the Head of a Department passes an order of fine. To make these two points clear, we propose that for the last sentence the following should be substituted:—

APPEAL TO MANAGER FROM HEAD OF A DEPARTMENT.

SUGGESTED RE-DRAFT.

"A copy of such order should, in the case of a dismissal, be supplied to the operative concerned, unless it is impracticable to do so, and in the case of a fine should be supplied if demanded by the operative concerned. Any operative aggrieved by any such order of the Head of a Department can appeal to the Manager, and any order of the latter is appealable to the Managing Agents under the provisions of Order 3."

Standing Order 21.

123. "21. A copy of these Orders in the Vernacular will be handed to each operative when engaged, and he shall accept work at the Mill on the understanding that he has read these Orders and agrees to abide by them."

OPERATION OF THE STANDING ORDERS.

No objection has been taken to this rule, which is a usual one. The Joint Strike Committee, however, say in their written statement that a copy of any changes made in the rules should similarly be supplied to each employee. Mr. Caroe, in the discussion on the 7th of December 1928, accepted this suggestion; but we think it would be sufficient if the change is notified in the vernacular in the mill and embodied in the Standing Orders to be supplied to new operatives. The provisions we propose for prior consultation of operatives and their representatives including Trade Unions, in conjunction with the notification of the change, in proper places in the mill, should ordinarily ensure other operatives knowing about the change.

124. For the reasons given in discussing Standing Order 4, we propose that that rule, as re-drafted by us, should be placed after Standing Order 21.

125. We would also make two verbal changes in Rule 21 to cover amendments made under the proposed rule 22, namely,—

SUGGESTED AMENDMENTS.

(*a*) insert the words "or of the orders as altered under Rule 22" after "these orders"; and

(*b*) substitute the words "the said orders" for the words "these orders".

NUMBERING OF THE STANDING ORDERS.

126. Appendix III gives, in a comparative form, the Standing Orders as submitted to the Joint Conference on the 4th October 1928; some new Orders (printed in italics) which were submitted to us by the Millowners' Association during our discussions; and the amended Orders in the form in which we consider they may be approved as fair and reasonable. In this the numbering of the Standing Orders submitted to us is retained, in order to prevent confusion in reference to our report, except for the omission of Standing Order 4 and its insertion as Standing Order 22. But the numbering should of course be altered in any Standing Orders based on our re-draft.

CHAPTER III.

THE SEVENTEEN DEMANDS.

127. The origin of the so-called " Seventeen Demands " has already been referred to in Chapter I. They were apparently formulated by the Joint Mill Strike Committee after the discussion which the Chairman and Members of the Millowners' Association had with his Excellency the Governor, on the 27th of April 1928. The press *communique* on the subject stated " His Excellency was informed by the Millowners' Association that no grievances had been brought to the notice of the Association. When any such grievances came to their knowledge through recognised representatives of Registered Trade Unions, the Association would consider them." On the 3rd of May the Joint Honorary Secretaries to the Joint Strike Committee addressed a letter to the Association formulating these Demands, and on the 12th of May the Committee of the Association published their reply, dealing categorically with each Demand. A copy of this statement will be found in Appendix I. Some of the Demands were conceded, and it will be convenient to deal with these first. They are Nos. 6, 15 and 16.

HISTORY OF THE DEMANDS

128. Demand No. **6** and the reply are :

	Demand	*Reply*
Posting of Piece Work Rates	Notices in vernacular showing the rates of piece-work in detail should be posted in the departments for the information of the workers.	The Committee of the Association agree to notices in vernacular being put up as desired.

This demand conforms with what is required by law in England. Section 116 of the Factory and Workshop Act, 1901 (1 Edw. 7, cap. 22) requires the occupier in every textile factory, for the purpose of enabling each piece-worker to compute the amount of wages payable to him, to publish in a certain manner particulars of the rate of wages applicable to the work to be done and of the work to which that rate is to be applied. In the case of weavers in the cotton trade, the particulars are to be furnished to him in writing at the time when the work is given out to him, and the basis and conditions by which the prices are regulated are to be exhibited and posted in each room on a placard not containing any other matter, and posted in a position where it is easily legible. Particulars either as to rate of wages or as to work must not be expressed by symbols. There is a separate provision as to automatic indicators when they are used for ascertaining work.

129. It was conceded by Mr. Stones for the Millowners' Association during the discussion that took place on the 6th of December 1928, that in the notices mentioned in this Demand information should be given on the above lines, so that each item entering into the calculation of the piece-worker's wage should find a place in the notice ; but in so far as wages under the Standardisation Scheme or existing practice do not follow exactly the basis and conditions on which they are calculated in Lancashire, the particulars given would have to differ from those that are for instance shown on page 78 of the Uniform List of Prices for weaving Plains, Fancies, etc., 1924 edition.

130. It was also agreed that such notices should be in more than one vernacular in any mill where this was necessary on account of the employees concerned speaking different languages.

131. Demand No. **15** and the reply are :

	Demand	*Reply*
Standardization of Standing Orders	All the rules that are usually posted in the mills or departments should be standardised by the Millowners' Association so that they shall be uniform in all the mills. That none of these rules or regulations shall be such as may deprive the workers of their rights conferred on them by the existing law, goes without saying.	The Committee agree that the rules posted in the mills should be standardised and these have already been formulated and will be published in due course.

This demand has been satisfied by the standardised Standing Orders which have been already considered. So far as the Committee are aware none of them, or at any rate none of them as amended by this Committee, " deprive the workers of their rights conferred on them by the existing law."

132. Demand No. **16** and the reply are :

	Demand	*Reply*
Depressed Class	Employment in the Weaving Department of the mills should be opened to members of the so-called " depressed classes. "	Neither the Association nor the employers individually have objected to members of the Depressed Classes working in any department of the mills including weaving. On the contrary, the objection has come from the workers themselves.

Mr. Bakhale, in regard to this, said that the point raised in this demand had been met by the Millowners' Association. It appears to be true that no opposition has been offered by the Millowners' Association to this proposal, and the main difficulty in the way of the depressed classes is caste feeling. Thus the Honourable T. Shaw, M.P., in his Report of Investigations into the Conditions of Indian Textile Workers, pointed out that this caste question was a problem which could only be solved by Indians themselves.

133. Demand No. **17** may next be shortly disposed of. It and the reply say :

	Demand	*Reply*
Victimization	That there shall be no victimization of men who have taken part in the present dispute, or in their Union activities.	The Committee do not know the reasons for anticipating any victimization either at present or in the future. There was no such victimization in the past.

In the discussion on this demand, Mr. Bakhale said that victimization was practised indirectly, *e.g.*, by dismissing a man who had taken part in Trade Union activity under some other pretext. Mr. Stones retorted that there were cases of one Trade Union victimizing members of another Trade Union. It is obvious that cases of this kind cannot be dealt with in detail by this Committee under its terms of reference. The principle of non-victimization was accepted by both sides ; and any alleged breach of that principle must be otherwise disposed of, after enquiry on the part of the mill authorities or the Trade Unions concerned.

134. We next deal with certain demands covered by the consideration of the Standing Orders for Operatives. These are Nos. 4, 9, 10 (as to employment), 11 (a), 13 and 14. No. **4** and the reply thereto are as follows :

	Demand	*Reply*
Variation as to the Conditions of Service	That the Millowners' Association shall not permit its individual members to vary conditions of service to the disadvantage of the workers without the sanction of the Association.	On broad questions of policy, the Association is consulted by its members before making any departure from existing policy, but in minor matters of internal administration discretion is left to individual members.

The Association has since conceded that no alterations of the general Standing Orders should be made by any individual mill without the approval of the Association, and No. 22 of the Orders, as amended by us, provides for this. The demand has, therefore, been virtually conceded. The standardisation of the Mill Rules in accordance with Demand No. 15 otherwise prevents any variance of the kind complained of. The standardisation also meets *Demand No. 10* so far as regards conditions of employment.

135. Demand No. **9** and the reply thereto are :

	Demand	*Reply*
Unclaimed Wages	The rules regarding the forfeiture of wages remaining unclaimed for certain period should be done away with.	Standard rules in connection with unclaimed wages will be drawn up for adoption by the members of the Association.

Subsequently, in paragraph 5 of the Terms formulated by the Millowners' Association, on the 16th of May 1928, it was stated " As to unclaimed wages, we have no objection to same being made available to operatives at any time on sufficient identification." Mr. Saklatvala further stated, on the 7th of December 1928, that the Members of the Association had been circularised accordingly, and that the previous practice of crediting unclaimed wages to one of the Mill Funds or to the Profit and Loss Account has been stopped.

136. The demand has therefore been fully granted ; but to ensure its observance we think the Standing Orders should contain a provision accordingly, and we have made a recommendation to that effect in paragraph 91 .

137. Demand No. **11** and the reply thereto are as follows :

	Demand	*Reply*
Tickets of Attendance and Cleaning Machinery	The newly introduced system of compelling the workmen (*a*) to take out and present tickets of attendance and (*b*) to clean the machinery daily should be discontinued.	This demand is tantamount to saying that no attempt should be made to enforce disciplinary measures. Discipline has been so wanting in the past that a new set of rules to be enforced at all mills is being drawn up and will be published shortly.

The proposed Standing Orders in Rules 7 and 8 provide for every operative taking out and presenting a ticket, and the question has been fully discussed in paragraphs 49 to 52. As is there pointed out, there is really no innovation in the system except as to applying it to weavers ; and for the reasons there given, we approve of this extension. In our opinion, therefore, this part of Demand No. 11 is not fair and reasonable.

138. The complaint as to daily cleaning of machinery has arisen in only 2 mills, *viz.*, the Spring and Textile Mills of the Bombay Dyeing and Manufacturing Company, Ltd. In these mills a weaver has for some time been required to do a daily partial cleaning of his 2 looms, in addition to the usual periodical over-hauling. This cleaning consists in brushing away from a few parts of the looms, the fluff that accumulates, and has a tendency to fly about and spoil the cloth. It also interferes with the proper oiling of the looms. Mr. Harrison, the Manager, told us that at most it takes a couple of minutes to do ; on the other hand, some weavers

from the Spring Mill said it took up 10 minutes in the morning and 15 in the evening. From what we ourselves saw, on a special visit to the Spring Mill for this purpose, we are satisfied that the weavers', statement is an exaggeration, and that the brushing can be easily done in about five minutes. Usually, the weaver does it immediately the looms stop working in the evening, or the first thing in the morning before they start working, or some time during the afternoon interval. The cleaning is obviously desirable and facilitates the running of the machine, as was admitted by the weavers from the Spring Mill who gave evidence before us. It therefore benefits the weaver by helping him to get better production. He also would ordinarily, in consequence of this daily brushing, have to spend less time on the periodical thorough cleaning. The objection of the weavers that they "waste their time " over this daily cleaning is not, in our opinion, substantiated ; and we accordingly consider that this part of the demand is unreasonable.

139. It may be added that it would seem desirable to standardise the practice of cleaning machinery in mills, as was suggested by Mr. Dange in the discussion on the 6th December 1928. This would tend to obviate complaints of the kind made in this demand.

140. Demand No. **13** and the reply thereto are as follows :

	Demand	*Reply*
Notices for terminating Service	One month's notice must be given by either side before terminating the contract of service.	This is the existing arrangement although it is one-sided, inasmuch as operatives seldom observe the rule of giving notice. However, it must be made clear that all over the world in the textile trade it is a recognised practice for employers to suspend work on some machines without notice in the event of work being not available. This might occur through any causes beyond the control of the employers.

The question has been fully considered in paragraphs 69 to 84 regarding Standing Orders 13, 14 and 15. The Labour representatives have since dropped this Demand, and the Joint Strike Committee's written statement regarding the Standing Orders says, " The period of contract need not extend beyond one day." The Millowners' Association has now agreed to have a fortnight's notice on either side instead of a month's notice. The Labour representatives are not satisfied with this and contend that the period of a notice to be given by an employee should be less than that required in the case of an employer ; but we do not consider this reasonable. The original demand for an equal period applicable to each side is, in our opinion, fair and reasonable, as already stated by us.

141. The reply refers to the question of "playing off." We have already held in paragraphs 72 to 74 that, so far as this practice is adopted merely for trade or business reasons, it is not a fair one, except for a short time such as a couple of days, but that it is a fair and reasonable one when adopted in other cases of the kind specified in Standing Order 13.

142. Demand No. **14** and the reply say :

	Demand	*Reply*
Leave to employees	The Millowners' Association should make standard rules for the guidance of its members regarding the grant of leave to their employees.	The question of granting leave on pay to the operatives was considered by the Association in the past, but in view of the high percentage of absenteeism and migratory habits of the workers, it was decided that no such concession could possibly be granted.

The above answer was given under the misapprehension that the Demand referred to leave *on pay*. The Millowners' Association afterwards agreed to draw up rules regarding the grant of leave without pay to employees, and we have made provision for this in the Standing Orders (see paragraph 57). This demand has accordingly been conceded.

143. There remain Demands Nos. 1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 8, 10 (regarding work and wages), and 12. Demand No. **1** and the reply thereto are :

	Demand	*Reply*
Reduction of Wages	The present practices resorted to by some millowners which result in the reduction of wages shall be stopped, and reductions and altered conditions already effected since 1925 shall be restored.	As regards this point, in absence of any details of the alleged practices, it is not possible to give any definite reply. The Association will deal with the matter if definite information is supplied.

With this can conveniently be taken Demand No. **10**. It and the reply are :

	Demand	*Reply*
Standardization of wages, etc.	The conditions of employment, work and payment should be standardised.	The Committee of the Association agree that "conditions of employment, work and payment should be standardised." This matter has been already receiving their attention, and a scheme has been prepared.

The Standardisation Scheme for having a uniform system of fixing work and wages in all mills in Bombay will necessarily reduce the complaint made in Demand No. 1 about alleged improper reductions of wages in the past. The correspondence about them will be found in Appendix F to the Statement of the Millowners' Association. Whatever foundation there may have been for these allegations—and some of them appear to be substantiated—we think it would serve no useful purpose to discuss them in our Report. The Standardisation Scheme is an effective answer to this Demand, and is the more appropriate in view of Demand No. 10 for such standardisation. There was a subsequent modification of that demand in the proceedings before us which is referred to in paragraph 198; but this does not affect our conclusion that the complaint in Demand No. 1 has been, in regard to the future, properly met by the Millowners' Association. As to the demand that the conditions of 1925 shall be restored, Mr. Dange urged that this also covered any reduction in the number of hands employed since 1925. This, however, is a question which can best be discussed in connection with the Standardisation Scheme, and for the reasons given in paragraph 204 we are against his contention. Speaking generally, we may say that this demand that conditions should remain exactly as they were in 1925 is clearly unreasonable.

144. Demand No. 2 and the reply thereto are as follows:

	Demand	*Reply*
Increase of hours of Employment	That where the daily hours of work of any class of workers are at present less than 10, the hours shall not be raised to 10, without the consent of the workers concerned expressed through their organisations. When the hours are thus increased, the workmen should be paid for the same at the usual overtime rates.	This, no doubt, refers to the practice which some members of the Association have recently adopted of insisting that the operatives of all departments whether spinning section or weaving section should uniformly work full 10 hours as laid down in the Factories Act. In the interests of discipline, the Association must insist that all male operatives should work for full 10 hours a day. Such increased time cannot possibly be paid at overtime rate as this can only come into operation after an operative has actually worked for more than 10 hours during the day. There can also be no question of a *pro rata* increase in wages as these operatives are already paid wages not only fully equal to

but in some cases even higher than those received by workers on a similar class of work, who put in full 10 hours. This is a reform which should be undertaken without delay.

This demand affects (1) fitters and other employees in the Mechanics' shops, (2) some operatives in the Warping, Sizing and Warehouse departments, and (3) some departmental fitters, carpenters and line-levellers.

145. The first of these do not come under the Standardization Scheme, and their wages have been left over for further settlement; but the Millowners' Association intend that, after the introduction of Standardization, these employees should all work a full ten-hours' day. The position as regards the others who come under the Standardization Scheme, is thus stated in a letter dated 12th February 1929 from the Secretary of the Millowners' Association :—

HISTORY OF DEMAND.

"In a few Mills, departmental fitters as specified on page 8 of the Spinning List and page 20 of the Weaving List and carpenters as specified on pages 19 and 21 of Spinning List and page 20 of Weaving List, will be affected as they are not at present working a full ten-hour day. Line Levellers as specified on page 21 of the Spinning List will be affected in a few mills as regards working hours. In a majority of the Mills, however, departmental fitters, carpenters, and Line Levellers already work the ordinary mill hours, *i.e.*, ten hours per day.

"Warpers (page 9 of Weaving List), Sizers (pages 10 and 11 of Weaving List), Calendermen, Warehousemen and Folding Department (pages 21 and 22 of Weaving List) are now working as a rule for 8½ to 9½ hours per day, the hours varying in different Mills, the average being about 9 hours, though in certain cases, warpers and sizers already work even ten hours per day. In compiling the Standard List, wages have been fixed for these operatives to give what is considered to be a fair wage for a ten-hour day. In the Warehouse and Folding Department, there have been no reductions in the rates, but hours have been increased."

Steps in the direction of increasing their hours had been taken by some mills prior to the General Strike. Thus the Kohinoor Mills notified the men in the Mechanics Shop and Folding Department on the 31st of January 1928 that they were required to come to work next day from 7 A.M. instead of from 8 A.M., as they had been doing for some years. There were short strikes in consequence, but they failed (See *Labour Gazette* of March 1928, pages 558-9, and of April 1928, page 646). No extra pay was given for the additional work entailed. Similarly from 1st March 1928, the E. D. Sassoon group increased the hours of their

mechanics from 8½ to 10, and those of their Sizing and Folding Departments from 9 to 10. They gave a proportionate increase of wages for the month of March, but notified that this would be done away with from 1st May. This explains how the question arose, and this demand was made. Its refusal by the Association was emphasized in the "terms" that the Association afterwards formulated. Paragraph 3 says :—

> "*Full ten hours work for all Male Operatives in all Departments.*—An exception was made in the past in the case of particular departments when all the departments in the mills were running for 12 hours and more. But after the reduction of working hours to 10, there is no excuse for continuing a practice which is at once uneconomical in working and subversive of discipline. There is therefore no justification for giving any *pro rata* increase in any particular departments but all operatives must be made to work uniformly for 10 hours."

The Joint Strike Committee in their written statement remark as follows :

> "In the standard scheme, those who were working formerly 8½ hours a day, are asked to work 10 hours and their wages have been kept at the same level that they were paid when working 8½ hours. The Millowners' contention that this class was paid for 10 hours while work was taken from them for 8½ hours is hollow on its very face, because had it been so they would not have paid overtime wages for these men, whenever they worked for more than 8½ hours. This new system in the first place increases hours of work, which on the contrary ought to be reduced, and in the second place cuts the earnings of this class by 21·25 per cent."

The main question that arises is whether the proposal that the hours should be increased without any extra remuneration is fair and reasonable.

ORIGIN OF EXISTING PRACTICE.

146. It is unfortunate that the exact origin of the practice requiring only 8½, 9 or 9½ hours' work instead of 10 hours from these hands is lft in some obscurity. It was stated by Mr. Dongarsing, the Manager of the Morarji Goculdas Mill, that there was a strike some time between 1885 and 1895, which resulted in an 8 hours' day being fixed for mechanics ; but we have been unable to obtain any verification of this statement. He further suggests that the objection to longer hours is due to many of the fitters having been originally Anglo-Indians, who worked harder than most mill-hands, so that full time was not insisted on in their case. But this, if true, does not explain how the men in the Folding and some other departments were allowed to work for less time. All that we can go on with any certainty is the statement of the Millowners' Association that, when the daily hours of work were reduced from 12 to 10 in 1920, no change was made in the case of the mechanics and others, who were allowed to work for less than 10 hours. Mr. Saklatvala said that the Millowners did not then think it necessary to ask the fitters to do more work, because 1920 was a boom year. This plea, however, appears to us to be not altogether convincing. It is somewhat inconsistent with the contention that these men ought to work longer hours, in

order to enable the Mills to obtain increased production. If that be so, we should have expected that, when profits were so great as they were in 1920, it would obviously have paid the mills to have given these men increased wages, in order to get them to work longer. As they did not do this, the desirability of their working for 10 hours, like other operatives, can hardly have been so apparent as it is now claimed to be. On the other hand, it may be said that the necessity for increased efficiency had not then been brought home to Millowners in the way that it has now been on account of the Japanese competition.

EMPLOYEES IN MECHANICS' SHOPS.

147. But, whatever may have been the reasons for it, the system has obtained for at least eight years. In all the mills, till shortly before the general strike, it had virtually become a recognised term of the employment of a fitter in the Mechanics' Shop that he should not be required to work for more than 8½ hours. The hours of work are such a fundamental part of the contract of employment between a workman and his employer that we think we can safely say that a Court of Law would hold the *actual* 8½ hours of work in their case to be also the *contractual* hours, unless very clear proof to the contrary was forthcoming. The mere fact that the Factories Act allows a full working day of 10 hours on 6 days a week for all employees would not make any difference, because the employer can of course contract to employ particular men for a shorter day. Nor would the fact of Mill Rules laying down 10 hours a day for all operatives be of much avail against the natural inference to be drawn from such a uniform practice, in the absence of a written contract signed by each fitter and incorporating a liability to work for the full day of 10 hours as a condition of his employment.

148. We think, therefore, that the legal aspect of the question so far as it concerns the employees in the Mechanics' Shop is against the contention of the Millowners' Association. Even supposing that the practice started as a concession, it has in effect crystallised into a contractual system. Mechanics engaged after 1920 would be led to believe that they were under no liability to work more than 8½ hours except on overtime pay ; and the Millowners appear to have done nothing to counteract such a belief. On the contrary, when in 1924 the Swan and Finlay Mills, and in 1925 the Gold Mohur Mills, changed the hours of work for mechanics so as to raise them from 8½ to 10 hours a day, they gave an increase in pay for the extra hours per week the men concerned were asked to work. Similarly, the E. D. Sassoon group gave proportionate increases when they did the same in March 1928, though they no doubt notified that those increases would be done away with from the 1st of May 1928. The only real exception is that of the Kohinoor Mills, where from the 1st of February 1928, as already mentioned, the mechanics' hours were increased from 8½ to 9½ without any corresponding increase of pay. In this case, their terms of employment have no doubt been successfully changed, but the question whether this is fair and reasonable still remains.

149. In one sense, the answer must be in the affirmative, because there is nothing illegal in an employer extending (within the limits laid down by the Factories Act) the hours that an operative works, without giving any increased wages, if he can obtain suitable employees on those terms. He could of course give a month's notice to all his mechanics, however long they may have worked for only 8½ hours a day, that he would discharge them next month, unless they agree to work 10 hours a day on the same pay. The fact that the tendency now-a-days is to have a maximum working day of 8 hours, as affording for a considerable variety of occupations and for conscientious workers the best conditions for high productivity*, and that in other Workshops in Bombay such as the Municipal, Railway and Tramway ones, the mechanics work only 48 hours a week, would not affect this legal right. The Washington Convention, which limits the hours of labour in industrial undertakings to 8 in the day and 48 in the week, was modified in the case of British India so as to allow 60 per week. But this does not, in our opinion, conclude the question. The terms "fair and reasonable" are not necessarily co-extensive with the word "legal"; and circumstances may make an alteration in conditions of employment unreasonable, although it may be one which the law allows. The real question is whether the objections to the proposal for an unremunerated increase in the hours of work of mechanics are fair and reasonable. On this point the Millowners' Association argue that there is no sufficient reason to differentiate them from other mill operatives, who work 10 hours; but it is an effective answer that the men in question have succeeded between 1920 and 1928 in getting this difference established, so that no question was raised in 1924 and 1925 about some of them getting a proportionate increase in pay for an increase in the number of hours over 8½ they were required to work. It may be entirely accidental and even illogical; but, after all, many conditions in life arise in the same way. In fact, it can be said not to be illogical. Mechanical skill is a considerable factor in raising wages, etc.; this for instance explains why, as Mr. Neville Hunt points out in his written statement, motor drivers will probably always get more money than cooks or butlers. In the case of mechanics it can be urged (as Mr. Dongarsing did) that the work requires more intelligence and assiduity than that of an ordinary mill-hand. They can also cite the precedent of their brother fitters in other Bombay Workshops, who have only got to work 48 hours a week. Having regard to the time the practice has lasted, and all the other circumstances, we think the objection taken to the proposal of the Millowners' Association is a reasonable one. The pay they draw (except in the Kohinoor Mills and the Mills where *pro rata* increases have been allowed for a full day's work) is at present pay for an 8½ hours' day, and we consider that in standardising their wages any increase of these hours should be given due consideration in determining what are reasonable wages in their case, in other words, a *pro rata* increase should be given in any wage based on what they get

OPINION OF COMMITTEE AS TO SUCH MECHANICS.

* Professor Lee's "The Human Machine and Industrial Efficiency," 1919, p. 36.

for 8½ hours' work a day. On the other hand, it will of course be open to the Millowners to continue the present practice of allowing the mechanics to work for only 8½ hours a day, if they object to any such increase.

150. The above remarks do not apply to departmental fitters, nor to warpers, sizers, etc., who are mostly employed on piecework rates. These men have not established a uniform practice of working for only 8½ hours a day, and the practice varies considerably. It is clear that they have not so strong a case as the mechanics. The majority of departmental fitters, carpenters and line-levellers already work the ordinary mill hours, and though the average hours for warpers and sizers is about 9, some of them work 10 hours a day. Nor is there reasonable justification for their not working a full day, like other operatives in a Mill ; any reduction in their hours must ordinarily affect production, whereas this is not necessarily the case with the mechanical branch. We accordingly think that, in the case of these other classes of operatives, the demand that there should be no increase in their daily hours without payment at overtime rates cannot be justified as fair and reasonable. On the other hand, we think that in fixing their proposed wages under the Standardization Scheme on the basis of a 10 hours' day, the fact that the average wage earned by them has hitherto been one for less than a 10 hours' day should be taken into consideration ; and we have borne this in mind in dealing with any dispute as to their wages (cf. paragraph 270).

OPINION OF COMMITTEE AS TO OTHER EMPLOYEES.

151. We therefore consider the demand for extra pay fair and reasonable so far as it concerns employees in the Mechanics' shops, but not as regards the other operatives mentioned above.

152. The other part of the demand that the hours should not be raised " without the consent of the workers expressed through their organisations " is in our opinion unreasonable. It is on a par with the demand No. 7 that there should be no increase of efficiency without similar " free consent," and we may refer to our remarks about it in paragraph 155.

153. Demand No. **3** and the reply say :

	Demand	*Reply*
Consent of Workers' Organizations to variance of conditions.	That the millowners shall not vary any of the present conditions to the disadvantage of the workers before securing the approval of the workers through their organisations.	The Association can never agree that the present conditions shall not be varied without the approval of the workers' organisations for the simple reason that some of the existing practices undoubtedly have room for improvement. The pages of the Tariff Board Report clearly and emphatically point out that conditions

must be varied. Besides, the workers' organisations at present are far from fully developed and there is no textile trade union in existence in Bombay that can undertake to enforce its own will on its members, even when an understanding has been effected with the employers.

This point has been discussed in paragraph 35 regarding Standing Order 4. As there noted, the demand for *approval* was dropped by Mr. Bakhale in the discussion that took place on the 6th of December 1928, and all that he asked for was prior consultation. This has been conceded. The Millowners' Association also does not now object to recognising registered Trade Unions in the textile trade. In these circumstances, it seems to us futile to go into the question whether their previous objection to recognition of the Labour organisations was or was not justified. Proposals have now been made for the constitution of Joint Committees, and for prior consultation of operatives and their representatives before any alterations are made in the Standing Orders (see paragraphs 35 and 36). It is sufficient to say that this Demand, as modified by substituting "having prior consultation with" for "securing the approval of" has been acceded to.

154. Demand No. **5** and the reply thereto are :

	Demand	*Reply*
Rates for new varieties of cloth.	The rates of new varieties shall be fixed by the Millowners' Association in consultation with the representatives of the workers' organisations.	The rates of wages will be fixed under the new standardisation scheme, and as the Committee maintain that this is a reform which must be carried out as soon as possible, and also for reasons mentioned in reply to demand 3, the answer to this must be in the negative.

The refusal to meet this demand was prior to the Report of the Standardisation Sub-committee of the Association, which is contained in Appendix S to the Statement of the Millowners' Association. The penultimate paragraph of that Report adumbrated the adoption of some rules for the joint settlement of trade disputes on the lines of the well-known Brooklands Agreement,* and such rules have in fact been agreed to, as already mentioned. As the discussion of the 6th of December 1928 shows, there is now no objection raised to rates of new varieties, not covered by the

* Board of Trade (Labour Department) Report on collective Agreements between Employers and Workpeople in the United Kingdom, 1910, page 136.

Standardisation Scheme as it stands at present, being fixed after consultation with the Trade Unions. This Demand has therefore been sufficiently met. It is true that the Standardisation Scheme was drawn up without such prior consultation ; but this is explained by the fact that it was prepared during the strike, which rendered such consultation impracticable. As already mentioned, the scheme was discussed on various occasions with representatives of Labour and has been considerably modified in consequence.

155. Demand No. **7** and the reply are :

	Demand	*Reply*
Consent of workers' organisations to increase of efficiency.	The system by which each worker is required to look after 3 looms or the whole frame (2 sides) should not be reintroduced or continued without the consultation and free consent of the workers expressed through their organisations.	No reforms intended to increase the efficiency of workers to the mutual benefit of both the employers and the employees can ever be effected in the textile industry in Bombay if it is stipulated that nothing should be done without the "free consent" of the workers.

This can best be considered in discussing the Standardisation and Efficiency Schemes. It may be noted that the words "free consent of the workers" are somewhat misleading. Of course, no worker can be compelled to do any work without his own free consent. What is meant is the consent of the body or Union to which the worker belongs. Individual workers may be and often are willing to do more work for more pay, and what is desired is to compel them not to do so for what is supposed to be the benefit of the body. For the reasons given in paragraph 287 we consider that the Millowners' Association were justified in objecting to this stipulation about "free consent," which as pointed out above, may involve compulsion of individual workers. The principle of *consultation* has been conceded, as already stated ; and to this extent the Demand is fair and reasonable. But the objections raised by the Trade Unions to any attempt at increasing the efficiency of the workers are not, in our opinion, reasonable, for reasons given in paragraph 204.

156. Demand No. **8** and the reply are :

	Demand	*Reply*
Proposed wage increase.	The wages of those workers whose average monthly wage is less than Rs. 30 shall be raised substantially.	No reason whatever is given for demanding that where the wage is less than Rs. 30 it should be "raised substantially". However, in compiling our Standardisation Scheme, if wages are found to be unduly low in any cases, same will be duly considered.

157. This demand has during discussion been expanded into two much wider ones, *viz.*, (1) that there should be a minimum wage for all mill operatives of Rs. 30 per month, (2) that this minimum should apply to female as well as male operatives on the ground that females doing the same kind of work as males should get the same wages. There is a very extensive amount of literature on this subject; and, as is well known, many countries have provided by legislation for the fixing of minimum rates of wages. The earliest system of minimum wage regulation in modern times was that introduced in New Zealand and Australia during the last decade of the 19th century, and by the year 1910 laws applying the minimum wage principle were in force in all the States of Australasia. In 1909, the British Parliament passed provisions by which the minimum wage could be enforced in certain trades. In the United States, Massachusetts adopted the minimum wage principle in 1912, while eight other States followed in 1913. Since then the principle has been adopted in Canada, France, Norway, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Roumania, Uruguay, Germany, Hungary, Italy and South Africa. But the scope of the laws in force in the different countries varies greatly, as do also the methods of their application. A fuller account of the development of this legislation will be found in the International Labour Office Report on Minimum Wage Fixing Machinery, 1927, at pages 9 to 11. The above statement should be supplemented by a reference to that part of the Peace Treaty after the Great War, which provided for the establishment of an International Labour Office. In the Preamble to Part XIII of the Treaty of Peace "the provision of an adequate living wage" is mentioned among the problems of urgent importance which require solution if social unrest is to be avoided. Also, in Article 427 of the Treaty, among the general principles which the signatory parties considered well fitted as a guide to the policy of the International Labour Organisation, is "the payment to the employed of a wage adequate to maintain a reasonable standard of life as this is understood in their time and country." Accordingly, after preliminary research work by the International Labour Office, the matter came up for discussion before two International Labour Conferences, one in 1927 and the other in 1928. At the second conference, a draft International Convention concerning the creation of minimum wage fixing machinery, with some supplementary recommendations, was adopted. A copy of the Draft Convention is contained in Appendix VII. It will be seen that by Article I it is limited in its scope to "workers employed in certain of the trades or parts of trades (and in particular in home working trades) in which no arrangements exist for the effective regulation of wages by collective agreement or otherwise and wages are exceptionally low". It thus excludes from its scope trades, or even parts thereof, in which although wages may be exceptionally low, the workers are sufficiently organised to conclude effective collective agreements, or, even if unorganised, are protected by other equally effective arrangements. The principle laid down in Article 427 of the Treaty quoted above has been more fully expressed in the third

EXPANSION OF DEMAND.

MINIMUM WAGE PRINCIPLE.

Recommendation appended to the Draft Convention about minimum wages, as follows :—

"For the purpose of determining the minimum rates of wages to be fixed, the wage fixing body should in any case take account of the necessity of enabling the workers concerned to maintain a suitable standard of living. For this purpose regard should primarily be had to the rates of wages being paid for similar work in trades where the workers are adequately organised and have concluded effective collective agreements, or, if no such standard of reference is available in the circumstances, to the general level of wages prevailing in the country or in the particular locality."

ITS APPLICATION IN ENGLAND.

158. Some exponents of the doctrine of the minimum wage go to the extent of saying, as is done in Australia, that it is under no consideration to be reduced, and that if an industry cannot afford to pay it, it should be abandoned. On the other hand, in England, more consideration has always been given to what the trade can bear than to the idea of a basic wage. Thus Mrs. E. M. Burns in her book "Wages and the State" (1926) at pages 273-275 says :

"Only one statement may be made with any certainty respecting the wage-fixing policies of the British Trade Boards. It is that practically each Board has a different policy, which is very seldom as clear-cut as those we have so far considered. There is for example no accepted Living Wage doctrine as in Australia. Unlike the Boards in New South Wales those in Great Britain have never made more or less elaborate enquiries into the cost of living, and then used the sum so found as an irreducible minimum. No Board has ever proclaimed that if its members could not pay a Living Wage they had better retire from business. . . . . The cost of living is certainly considered from time to time, but not as a basic factor. That is to say, wages may be altered because of changes in the cost of living, unaccompanied by any enquiry as to the adequacy of the basic wage to support a reasonable standard of living. . . .

"Much more important is the principle of what the trade can bear. From the evidence of the various chairmen and Government officials before the Cave Committee, it is apparent that this is the fundamental consideration."

Again, Professor Richardson in his work "The Minimum Wage" (1927) at pages 39 and 40 says :

"When the Cave Committee framed its recommendations, it proposed that the Trade Boards System should be directed 'to give protection to the workers in each trade by securing to them at least a wage which approximates to the subsistence level in the place in which they live and which the trade can bear.' There was thus . . an attempt to combine the principle of the living wage and that of the capacity of industry to pay. . . . . The British Agricultural Wages Act of 1924 recognises the living wage principle.

The Committees set up under the Act are charged with the duty of securing, as far as practicable, for able-bodied men such wages as are adequate to promote efficiency and to enable a man to maintain himself and his family in accordance with a reasonable standard of comfort. The qualification 'as far as practicable' implies that the fixing of a living wage is not obligatory. The capacity of industry to pay is the real basis."

Similarly, Mr. R. H. Tawney, a well-known Economist with advanced Labour views, who represented the Miners' Federation before the Royal Commission on the Coal Industry (1925), has stated :

"In practice . . . both arguments as to the cost of living, and arguments as to what the trade will bear, are adduced when a variation of rates is under discussion, and the latter consideration appears to me as relevant as the former."*

DIFFICULTY IN ITS APPLICATION.

159. On the other hand, it must be admitted that the weight of this factor as to what the trade can bear is to some extent affected by the difficulty of obtaining adequate information to enable a sound judgment to be formed as to the capacity of the industry to pay for any particular wage. This is very fully shown in Mrs. Burn's "Wages and the State," Chapter XVI. Thus she says on page 383 :

"Similarly when it has been decided which employers in a given industry are to be considered, satisfactory tests of their 'ability to pay' must be devised. A great deal depends upon the possibility of obtaining from employers figures on which to base a judgment. As a general rule employers have been extremely reluctant to supply this evidence, and when information has been furnished it has been too fragmentary to be of much use. It is inevitable that a tearing asunder of the veil which hides the mystery of company finance should be resisted. But it is not reasonable that employers who plead inability to pay should expect Boards and Courts to take their word without more ado. This inability to obtain or to insist upon the production of figures has hindered the work of more than one Board or Court."

Mr. W. Citrine, General Secretary of the Trades Union Congress, has similarly remarked :

"To talk about what an industry for the next twelve months will be able to afford is pure speculation in some cases, and the facts are so scanty that hypothesis is rendered very much more difficult as a consequence. I do not think we pay half enough attention to the reluctance which is manifest when one tries to get down to details in this respect. There is a traditional secrecy both on the Trade Union side and the employers' side in industry. Both sides will talk glibly about publicity, but when it comes down to actually disclosing

* "Towards Industrial Peace," being the Report of the Proceedings of a Conference organised by the League of Nations Union and held at the London School of Economics, February 1-4, 1927 on Systems of Fixing Minimum Wages and Methods of Conciliation and Arbitration, pages 28-29.

information as regards the respective sides, you will find a very great reluctance to do it."*

160. In the United States the same difficulty has been felt. Thus in many instances in the printing industry the parties have agreed that the factors governing wage changes should be the cost of living and the economic condition of the industry, but it has been found that the latter has been difficult to prove, so that in these cases the main factor has been the cost of living.†

ITS APPLICATION TO BOMBAY MILL INDUSTRY.

161. In the present case, we have material for safely saying that any considerable increase in the wages bill would hamper the industry to an unjustifiable extent, in the existing circumstances of trade depression; but we may well decline to go further and say that the state of the trade does not permit of even a small increase in the lowest wage proposed to be paid, if it is shown that that wage does not enable the workers concerned to maintain a suitable standard of living.

162. We may further point out that, even if we apply the third Recommendation of the Geneva Conference, which has already been cited, there is ground for the view that this will not affect the standard on which the question of a minimum wage for the mill-industry should be determined. It lays down that in fixing minimum rates of wages, "regard should primarily be had to the rates of wages being paid for similar work in trades where the workers are adequately organised and have concluded effective collective agreements, or, if no such standard of reference is available in the circumstances, to the general level of wages prevailing in the country or in the particular locality." As to the first of these methods, we have to remember that wages may differ considerably in different industries even for the same class of work. It is pointed out in Richardson's book "The Minimum Wage," at page 79, that even "in the well-organised industries themselves the wages of unskilled workers differ considerably from one industry to another, while within each industry wages may vary in the different establishments." He then cites figures showing considerable variations in the wages of unskilled workers in various industries in Great Britain, Germany and the United States. Any comparison, therefore, of mill wages with wages in other industries in Bombay such as Railway, Municipal and Tramway Workshops, even when they are in regard to corresponding occupations such as fitters or sweepers, must be made with some caution; and it cannot properly be assumed that because the Municipality pay a sweeper a higher wage than the mills, the latter is not being paid enough to maintain a suitable standard of living. Secondly, it seems to us that the history of strikes and trade unionism in Bombay bears out the view that the mill hands are at least as effectively organised to fight their employers and conclude effective collective agreements as any other body of industrial workers in Bombay, except perhaps the employees

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* "Towards Industrial Peace," page 270.

† U. S. A. Labour Bulletin No. 369 (May 1925), page 216.

of the Postal and Telegraph Departments of Government. In Ahmedabad at any rate the earnings of cotton mill workers are greater than those of all other workers, as shown by the Labour Office Report regarding Working Class Budgets in Ahmedabad in 1926, page 10. Accordingly we attach more importance to the evidence as to the rates of wages in the cotton mill industry itself than to that about the wages in other businesses in Bombay. In our opinion, the main data suitable for the purpose of determining a minimum wage are the results of wage censuses for the Bombay mill hands and working class family budgets enquiries for Bombay. We are fortunate in having useful material of this kind in the three reports of the Labour Office regarding their enquiries into the earnings of mill workers in Bombay in May 1921, August 1923 and July 1926. The figures of 1926, though at present only provisional, are especially valuable because, as remarked in the report of the Tariff Board, page 111, there is every reason to believe that the Labour Office, profiting by the experience gained in previous enquiries, has been able to collect more satisfactory data than it did previously. We are satisfied that very great care was taken in selecting the representative mills, in obtaining information from them, and in compiling the statistics contained in the two provisional statements of the Labour Office which we have received. As a wage-census obtained by the "sampling method," it is one which can be relied on as giving results which can in general be safely accepted; but of course some averages might have varied if statistics had been taken for all, or nearly all, the mills in Bombay. We have also the report of the Labour Office regarding the enquiry into some 3,000 working class budgets in Bombay in 1921-22, as well as one into family budgets of cotton mill workers in Sholapur City in 1925, and another into working class family budgets in Ahmedabad in 1926. The latter, though of some relevancy, are of course of minor importance, as the cost of living in Bombay is higher than in Ahmedabad or Sholapur.

LABOUR OFFICE ENQUIRIES INTO WAGES, ETC.

163. Bearing these principles in view, we do not think that in this enquiry we should be justified in importing the principle of a minimum wage to the extent demanded, *viz.*, the fixing of a definite standard of Rs. 30 below which the wages of no mill-operative in Bombay should fall. The introduction of such a standard was not contemplated by the parties when they agreed to the reference, as is clearly indicated by the fact that the Standardisation Scheme put forward by the Joint Strike Committee themselves in opposition to that of the Millowners contains a number of instances in which the wages are less than Rs. 30. Apart from female operatives and juveniles like Doffer boys, whose wages are still lower, the lowest wage provided in the Joint Strike Committee's Scheme is Rs. 15 *plus* 70 per cent., *i.e.*, Rs. 25-8-0 per month for male sweepers; and there are a number of other cases which fall below Rs. 30. The same fact that a high minimum wage was not contemplated, is shown by this demand under enquiry, which does not say that all

OPINION OF THE COMMITTEE.

operatives should get at least Rs. 30, but merely that there should be a substantial increase in the pay of those getting less. We consider that we should determine what would be fair and reasonable wages on practical considerations suited to the circumstances of the case and having regard to the claims of the parties, as put forward at the time of the reference on 4th October 1928, and that we should not entertain a new demand of a much larger kind based on debatable ideas as to a proper standard of living. The main reason for the strike was not that the low paid employees were dissatisfied with the wages individuals were getting, but the fear that many of them would lose employment or find their work harder owing to the adoption of efficiency methods. The chief practical basis seems to us to be a consideration of the wages that the operatives have been hitherto getting, as that is an index to their present standard of living. In our opinion it would be quite inappropriate in a time of recognised trade depression to attempt to raise the general standard of living of the mill-hands, for that is what the present demand contemplates. Under the circumstances we think we should confine ourselves to seeing that there is no diminution in the wages of operatives who have been hitherto getting a low pay, and that relief is given in those cases where they are unduly low. We find on a comparison of the Wages Enquiries with the Standardisation Scheme of the Millowners, that the latter does not contemplate any reduction in the wages of operatives getting less than Rs. 30 per month, but on the contrary in several cases it proposes a moderate increase. Thus, for example, male sweepers who in 1921 used to get a daily average wage of Rs. 0-10-4 (Report page 34), in 1923 Rs. 0-11-6 (Report p. 37), and in 1926, 0-13-6 (Statements Part I, p. 9), will get under the Millowners' Scheme Rs. 0-14-1, an increase of more than 4 per cent. over their average of 1926 and a great deal more over that of former years. Further, in the case of female sweepers, whose wages might be regarded as unduly low, a considerable increase is proposed. They used to get per day Rs. 0-8-3 in 1921 (Report p. 36), Rs. 0-8-8 in 1923 (Report p. 40), and Rs. 0-8-8 in 1926 (Statements Part I, p. 10). They will get under the Scheme Rs. 0-11-0, an increase of very nearly 27 per cent. Any comparison with wages in other industries in Bombay such as Railway, Municipal and Tramway Workshops must, as already pointed out, be made with great caution. As it is, it may be noted that the wages paid to Municipal sweepers are Rs. 23 per month of 26 working days, and those proposed in the Millowners' Scheme amount to only a few pies less than Rs. 23 for the same period.

164. It may be added that the Report on an Enquiry into Working Class Budgets in Bombay collected from May 1921 to April 1922 published by the Bombay Labour Office in 1923, although very useful for many purposes, must be very cautiously used for fixing a living wage under present circumstances. Out of the 2,473 family budgets collected, only 68 are of families with earnings below Rs. 30. Even these, we find, were not of the lowest class. By the kindness of the Director we were supplied with the family budgets of mill-hands out of the 68 collected

at the time. They are 22 in number, the earner being usually a framtenter, the lowest wage being shown as Rs. 24-13-0 and the highest Rs. 29. Sweepers belong to a lower status, and for fixing a living wage which would include them it would clearly be necessary to collect a large number of budgets of such. Further, prices were at their peak during the period of collection, whereas they are on an average more than 15 per cent. lower now.*

EQUALITY OF PAY FOR MALES AND FEMALES.

165. We shall now deal with the second demand about female workers based on the principle that females doing the same kind of work as males should get the same wages. No doubt this is a principle which was affirmed by Article 427 of the Peace Treaty, and to which the International Labour Conference of 1926 called the attention of Governments in the concluding part of its Recommendation. But the fact remains that the principle has not yet been adopted even in countries where the minimum wage principle has been universally and extensively applied. Thus in Australia the determination of male and female living wages between 1914 and 1927 has always fixed a higher wage for the male; so that in 1927 in New South Wales the minimum living wage for a man was £4-5-0 as opposed to a wage of £2-6-0 for a female.† Again when a claim was made for equal pay for barmaids and barmen, on the ground that there should be equal pay for equal work, the Commonwealth Court of Conciliation and Arbitration held that the principle could not be properly applied, the industry having been from time immemorial one where men have been employed on a man's wage and women have been employed on a woman's wage.‡ The position is thus summed up in Richardson's book " The Minimum Wage ", page 125 :—

> "Although there is an approximate equality between the cost of maintenance of a man and of a woman, the wages of men when determined in accordance with the living wage principle are generally fixed at rates considerably higher than those of women. The reason given is that a large proportion of adult male workers are responsible for the maintenance of a wife and children, whereas the proportion of women who have dependants is comparatively small. The man's living wage is fixed for the maintenance of a family of average size, while the woman's living wage is based on the requirements of a woman maintaining herself, but without dependants. This relation is generally adopted in basic wage declarations in Australia. In Canada and the United States, where minimum wage fixing bodies are in most cases required to fix the wages of women workers only,

*The budgets were collected from May 1921 to April 1922. According to the *Bombay Labour Gazette* for December 1928, page 314, the index numbers of prices during these months were 167, 173, 177, 180, 185, 183, 182, 179, 173, 165, 165, and 162. The average for the 12 months would be thus a little over 174. According to the same authority the index numbers for October, November and December 1928 were respectively 146, 147, and 148, giving an average of 147. The difference between 174 and 147 is 27, and that means a decrease in prices of 15½ per cent. In other words, what cost Rs. 30 then would, speaking generally, cost Rs. 25-6-0 now.

† Australian Labour Report, 1927, No. 18, page 53.

‡ Commonwealth Arbitration Reports, Vol. 24 (1927), page 313.

the basis adopted is the sum required by a woman living away from home, but without dependants."

166. This consideration fits in with the view that a woman can properly be given less wages in a mill in Bombay, because ordinarily other members of her family are also earning pay. There are no doubt contentions that can reasonably be urged against this view, just as there are contentions which can be raised against allowing them the same wages as men. Thus Nora Milnes in her "Economics of Wages and Labour", at page 145, points out that in industries in which men and women work side by side, special provisions have to be made for the woman-worker, involving extra expenditure on the part of the employer. Mrs. Burns at page 410 of her book "Wages and the State" remarks that, if it is desired to keep women in employment, and even to extend the field open to them, by making them serious competitors with men, there is a strong case for fixing their wages much lower than those received by men; but if at a later stage the prejudice against the employment of women as such declines, and men and women compete freely, it may be possible to insist on equal pay for equal work without narrowing the field of employment. At present the general practice is to have inequality of pay, the wages of women being generally about 50 to 60 per cent. of those of men : *Cf.* the Table at page 136 of Richardson's book "The Minimum Wage". There has always been a similar distinction in Bombay, and it would be introducing a novel principle to lay down the contrary. Accordingly so long as the lowest pay of a woman under the Standardisation Scheme is sufficient to enable her to maintain herself, without dependants, we are of opinion that there is no objection, under existing conditions, to hold that the wage is a fair and reasonable one. We are not justified in judging by higher standards, which may be recognised in future years.

OPINION OF COMMITTEE.

167. It may be added that in some cases, *e.g.*, in the case of spinners, winders and reelers, the wage of a woman is the same as that of a man engaged on the same occupation. This apparently follows the corresponding practice in Lancashire, and it is noticeable that there has been less inequality in the textile trade in this respect than in most other important industries, as is pointed out by Richardson at page 137 of "The Minimum Wage." But in practice the majority of women in Lancashire draw less wages in cotton weaving, as stated in Sydney and Beatrice Webb's "Industrial Democracy," page 501, because the great majority of the women will be found engaged on the comparatively light work paid for at the lower rates, while the majority of the men will be found practically monopolising the heavy trade, priced at higher rates per yard, resulting in larger weekly earnings. In the same way we have evidence before us that female sweepers do not work as hard as males and are therefore not employed in certain departments. The work done, and the requirements of the workers are among the factors on which wages depend, and both of these generally operate to keep the wages of women lower than those of men. The Standardisation Scheme proposes to give them Re. 0-11-0 per day or Rs. 17-13-7 for 26 days' work, *i.e.*, practically Rs. 18—a rise of

nearly 27 per cent. as already noted. They will get more than 77 per cent. of the wages of the male sweepers, which is higher than the peak percentage for women in the textile industry in Japan, *viz.*, 67·9 of the rate for male workers (Harada's " Labour Conditions in Japan," page 139).

168. From the above considerations, we hold that the question resolves itself mainly into one, whether Rs. 18 per month is sufficient to maintain a single woman in Bombay. The Budgets of single men in the collection of Budgets for 1921 already referred to certainly tend to show that a single man could maintain himself even then on Rs. 20, and the same fact is apparent from the 28 budgets of single men in the textile industry sent to us by the Director of the Labour Office. If 15 per cent. is deducted for the fall in prices since 1921, as shown above, Rs. 20 then would correspond to Rs. 17 now. On this basis, we believe that a woman can maintain herself in Bombay on Rs. 18 a month. At the same time, we should explain that we have not had the opportunity of making a full and independent enquiry into this question. Miss Wingate, the Industrial Secretary of the Young Women's Christian Association, has suggested that the minimum wage for a woman might be paid on a higher basis than is usual elsewhere, because in western countries almost all the industrial women workers are unmarried, whereas in India practically all of them are married, and a widow generally has children to support. But we are not aware that the majority of women employees are such widows with children to support, and wages can hardly be regulated to suit the requirements of some individuals. The result of doing so probably would be to drive them entirely from employment.

169. We may note that in view of the limited scope of Article I of the Draft Convention, if ratified by the Government of India, it may be held that the wage fixing machinery should not be applied to the Indian Mill industry in Bombay, where even if it cannot yet be said that the organisations are efficient, conditions have, at any rate since the general strike, become more favourable than they were to collective bargaining. But this is a consideration that does not affect the general principle involved in the draft Convention. It cannot be denied that it is likely to result in the extension of the minimum wage idea, and its being an important factor in future collective agreements as to wages. The question of the minimum wage both for men and women is likely to be raised before the Royal Commission that, it is announced, will shortly be appointed to go into Indian Labour questions, and any principles laid down by them may have to be followed in future. But at present we are only concerned with a limited enquiry under peculiar circumstances, and do not consider ourselves justified in singling out the cotton mill industry in Bombay for anticipatory innovations of this kind.

170. At the same time, it must not be taken that we do not appreciate the contention that the standard of comfort for this class of workers in Bombay is exceedingly low, and we fully sympathise with the aspiration to improve it. But we think that any attempt to do this by raising the general level of wages in the mill industry, in the present circumstances of trade depression and fierce outside competition, might only result

in the closing down of more mills, and thus in the end be injurious to the interests of the working classes. It has also to be borne in mind that to impose a minimum wage of Rs. 30 would probably lead to a return of the former pratice of employing boys instead of adults. Thus, adults are at present frequently employed as doffer boys, because they are willing to accept their low wages ; but this would cease and only boys would be employed, if Rs. 30 is fixed as the minimum wage for an adult male.

171. Demand No. 12 and the reply say :

	Demand	*Reply*
Consolidation of High Prices Allowance with wages.	The present high prices allowance should be consolidated with the original wages.	This demand, namely, to consolidate "the high prices allowance" is on the face of it untenable. This allowance, as its very name implies, is an allowance made on account of the dearness of cost of living since the War, but in view of the fall in the cost of living during recent years, it is impossible to consolidate this allowance at the present high level. The table attached to this will make this point clear.

The objection taken by the Association to the proposed consolidation is based mainly on the view that it is undesirable to perpetuate the allowance " in view of the fall in the cost of living during recent years ". But this does not render it " *impossible* to consolidate this allowance at the present high level." It can of course be consolidated, and any such subsequent alteration of wages could be made in the form of a percentage rise or cut in the total consolidated wage of each operative, the extent of which could (if desired) be ascertained as if it were a cut of the 70 or 80 per cent. allowance contained in the consolidated wage. We have in fact been informed by the Ahmedabad Millowners' Association that all allowances, like the " dearness allowance " formerly granted, have been consolidated in the existing rates of wages. But this has not hitherto been done in Bombay, except to a limited extent. Thus the pay and allowances of permanent hands in the Municipal Workshops have been consolidated, but new hands do not get the extra allowance ; while they have been consolidated only in the case of new hands in the workshops of the Tramway Company.

172. We think that there is some force in the contention of the Millowners' Association that it is better not to have the basic wage and the allowance consolidated. The allowance was given for a special purpose, *viz.*, to compensate employees for the increase in the cost of living since the War ; and it is easier for both sides to grasp the reality of the situation and the justification for a rise or cut in wages on account of a

ARGUMENTS AGAINST CONSOLIDATION.

rise or fall in prices, if the two things are kept distinct. This, in fact, is the view that has been taken by the Trades Union Congress of the Labour Party in England, as is shown by their publication called "Industrial Negotiations and Agreements." On pages 44 to 46, after detailing some objections to the system of adjustment of wages by means of sliding scales based on the cost of living, they say:

"Against all these objections there is one consideration of paramount importance on the other side. The Cost of Living Sliding Scale is merely a piece of machinery for maintaining the purchasing power of money wages, leaving the workers' organisations free to concentrate on the improvement of real wages. In the past Labour has had to expend its energies and funds on two quite different objects, which, however, became mixed up with each other, the distinction finally being lost in the general objective of 'higher wages'. 'Higher wages' really mean two distinct propositions; first, higher money wages in order to maintain real wages, and, second, higher real wages in order to improve the standard of living. The failure to distinguish between real wages and money wages has over and over again led the workers in the wrong direction, and the fact that a Cost of Living Sliding Scale does once and for all sweep out of the way the source of this confusion is the strongest argument in its favour. There is an end to all the fighting to keep money wages rising as prices rise, and all the efforts of Labour can be concentrated on raising real wages and so improving the standard of life of the workers."

Then, after considering various objections, they conclude:

"Summing up, we may say that the Cost of Living Sliding Scale offers, on the whole, and subject to certain conditions, a net balance of advantage to the worker, because

(*a*) it eliminates the friction and waste consequent upon the effort to make money wages overtake rising prices;

(*b*) it therefore leaves Unions free to concentrate upon an improvement in real wages.

"The conditions to be observed are:

(*i*) A satisfactory Cost of Living Index Number should be available.

(*ii*) Every scale should provide for *full* compensation for higher cost of living, whatever the basic rate may be.

(*iii*) No scale should be agreed to except on the understanding that it is without prejudice to claims for basic increases."

173. This puts the case against the proposal very fairly. On the other hand, it must be noted that, although in the textile trade in Lancashire there has been for many years in existence a percentage allowance in addition to the actual wage, which goes up or down according to the cost of living, there are other trades which are in favour of a consolidated wage system.

ARGUMENTS IN ITS FAVOUR.

174. In this connection it may be added that in England the agreements setting up the Sliding Scales are negotiated in the main by the employers and the Trade Unions directly, and in some cases by Joint Industrial Councils. As regards the operation of such Sliding Scales, " usually a particular number in the Index is chosen as the starting point (as a rule the current figure at the time of the agreement), and adjustments take the form of a specified addition to, or subtraction from, the time or piece-rate for a specified rise or fall in the Index number. Revisions are made at intervals varying from one to six months, or in some cases only when the index number has risen or fallen by a specified amount." *

175. It will be seen that for a successful working of the Sliding Scales system, it is essential to have not only an accurate Cost of Living index, but also the machinery for negotiating wage-adjustments in an amicable spirit, in the absence of which a periodic revision of wages may lead to friction. Such machinery in the Bombay Textile industry has hitherto been lacking, but it is to be hoped that the Joint Committee, which it has been agreed to set up, will remedy this defect. As to the other essential of an accurate Cost of Living index, the Tariff Board at page 114 of their Report point out that the one for Bombay has admittedly not been compiled on an altogether satisfactory basis. And, even apart from that objection, the history of the high-prices allowance from its origin in 1917 shows that its amount has from time to time been fixed without any close relation to such an index, which in fact came into existence only in 1921. The mere device of maintaining indefinitely on the register the high-prices allowance figures separate from the basic wage figures, tends, as Mr. Bakhale pointed out, to create a sense of uncertainty in the minds of the operatives, and the proposed amalgamation will not prevent a wage-adjustment based on a rise or fall in the Cost of Living or the ascertainment of the part of the full wage which corresponds to the allowance.

176. The Millowners' desire to keep the allowances separate does not appear to be based on any intention on their part to make any efforts in the immediate future at a reduction in the allowances. Should they choose to take up this question at any time, it would not be difficult, in our opinion, to ascertain separately the basic wage of 1914, and the percentage allowances granted from time to time.

177. Mr. Bakhale in the final discussions before us has in connection with this question made it clear that Labour would not be averse to a revision of wages according to cost of living, if once the Standardization Scheme is inaugurated on the basis of wages consolidated with present allowances.

178. Another consideration, not entirely a minor one, is the point on which Mr. Dange laid stress, namely, the difficulty for an operative to calculate, or to understand the calculations of his exact wage, especially in view of the rule that the allowance is not given on the fraction of a rupee, and that this gives rise to cheating and misunderstanding, and has even

*Industrial Negotiations and Agreements, Trade Union Congress, England, page 42.

led to strikes. Mr. Cameron, Mechanical Engineer, Bombay Municipality, stated in evidence before us that one of the considerations which led the Municipality during the last twelve months to consolidate the allowances with the wages was the simplification of book-keeping, the other consideration being the difficulty of reducing allowances once granted. We believe these difficulties are worthy of consideration by the Millowners' Association.

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179. On the whole, therefore, we are of opinion that in view of the advantage of simplifying wage-calculations so as to make them intelligible to the operatives, and, in particular, the desirability of facilitating the introduction of the Standardization Scheme, it is advisable for the Association to do away with the present cumbrous system, founded as it is on the basic wages of fifteen years ago, and take advantage of the proposed Standardization of Wages to embody in the Scheme a consolidated wage-scale incorporating the existing high-prices allowances with any slight modifications that may be desirable for rounding off figures, etc.

180. In these circumstances, subject to the understanding conveyed by Mr. Bakhale on behalf of Labour that it has no objection to any prospective revision of wages according to the cost of living, we hold this demand to be fair and reasonable.

CLASSIFICATION OF DEMANDS.

181. The result is that the Seventeen Demands fall, in our opinion, under the following four classifications :—

(1) Granted by the Millowners' Association—Nos. 3*, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 14, 15, 16 and 17.

(2) Held by us to be fair and reasonable—Nos. 12 and 13.

(3) Held by us not to be fair and reasonable—Nos. 8 and 11.

(4) Held by us to be partly fair and reasonable, and partly not—Nos. 1, 2 and 7.

*As subsequently modified.

CHAPTER IV.

STANDARDISATION OF WAGES.

HISTORY OF THE PROPOSAL.

182. The question of standardising wages in the cotton mills in the City of Bombay has been considered by the Millowners' Association for several years. In their written statement the Association state that "the advantage of standardisation was already perceived as far back as 1891, when the late Honourable Mr. N. N. Wadia had prepared a draft scheme. The attempt was, however, not successful. Several attempts were made subsequently, but for one reason or another the old system was allowed to continue."

RECOMMENDATION OF INDUSTRIAL DISPUTES COMMITTEE.

183. In 1921 an Industrial Disputes Committee was appointed by the Government of Bombay to enquire into the causes of the prevalent labour unrest in Bombay City and to make recommendations regarding the necessity or otherwise for legislation providing machinery for the settlement of trade disputes. In its report, the Committee recommended standardisation of wages in the following terms :—

"Amongst the employers of labour there are strong organisations and the present tendency is for them to become more and more representative; but employers' associations have not yet evolved any standard scales of wages and individual employers are usually ignorant of how their rates compare with the wages given by others. The uncorrelated raising of wages in one factory is almost invariably seized upon as a grievance in other factories of the same class, and instances of strikes caused in this way are within the memory of all. The attempts made to standardise wages on a definite principle have hitherto been largely ineffective, though the Bombay Millowners' Association and more recently, we understand, the Engineering Employers' Federation have begun exploring the ground in that direction. It appears to us that the continual insistence of our witnesses on the differences of machinery and conditions of labour in the various factories, however justified, is liable to obscure the importance of a common practice in the scale of wages which if it is not reached by agreement amongst the employers will eventually be arrived at by pressure from amongst the men at a greater sacrifice of industrial peace. We think the subject is one which merits the most careful consideration for all employers."

RECOMMENDATION OF THE TARIFF BOARD.

184. No effectual action was, however, taken on this recommendation. In January 1927 the Indian Tariff Board (Cotton Textile Industry Enquiry) also recommended standardisation of wages. Paragraph 65 (page 140) of the Report of the Board states :—

"We cannot regard as satisfactory the present system, under which the wages in the Bombay mill industry vary from mill to mill, even

when the managing agents are the same, and would recommend, for the consideration of the Millowners' Association, the adoption of a system of standardised wages for the same class of work as between mill and mill. We realise that the adoption of such a system presents very great difficulties in Indian conditions owing to the illiteracy and imperfect organisation of labour and that its introduction might probably cause discontent among those operatives whose wages might be prejudicially affected. None the less, we think that the standardisation of wages throughout the Bombay industry would tend to strengthen its position. A suitable scheme could, of course, only be satisfactorily drawn up in consultation with representatives of labour. It is obviously preferable that it should be adopted by all mills but if a large proportion of the mills were willing to accept it, it would not be long before the others followed suit."

PREPARATION OF A SCHEME BY THE MILL-OWNERS' ASSOCIATION.

185. In pursuance of this recommendation, the Committee of the Millowners' Association appointed, on the 6th January 1928, a Special Sub-Committee consisting of the Chairman of the Association (Mr. H. P. Mody), the Deputy Chairman (Mr. F. Stones), Sir Ness Wadia, and Messrs. C. N. Wadia, S. D. Saklatvala, and T. Watts, "to investigate and report as to the measures which might reasonably be taken towards the standardisation of muster rolls and wage rates." The Sub-Committee called for information from all the mills affiliated to the Association regarding the rates of wages paid and the number of men required for stated operations for a certain number of machines in each mill. This was classified and tabulated, and averages of the rates of wages were arrived at. An average rate was put down after considering the nature of the work required from the operative. All bonuses like the good attendance bonus, the weekly bonus, electric light bonus and so on, were consolidated in the rates proposed. The first report of the Sub-Committee in respect of the Spinning Section was submitted to the main Committee of the Association on the 3rd May 1928. On the 24th May, the Committee decided to invite from their members, by means of a circular letter, constructive criticisms on the proposals formulated by the Standardisation Sub-Committee. A revised report of the Sub-Committee, based on the criticisms received, was submitted to the main Committee on the 30th May. The latter Committee had a general discussion on the Spinning Section of the Standardisation Scheme on the 5th June, and a more detailed discussion, with the assistance of technical experts, on the 7th June. The Weaving Section of the Scheme was considered at a meeting held on the 9th June, when details with certain modifications in respect of all departments except weaving were approved. It was also resolved at this meeting that the Standardisation Sub-Committee should prepare a list showing the scale proposed for various sorts of cloth for weavers working on two looms, the basis to be Rs. 42 for plain cloth 36" wide. At a meeting of the Committee of the Association held on the 12th June, Mr. Stones explained the position regarding the Spining Section, and it was decided that a copy of the scheme in respect of

that Section, duly amended in accordance with the decisions reached by the Committee on the 7th June, should be sent to the members of the Association for consideration. The revised Standardisation Scheme in respect of the Weaving Section was discussed and accepted, with certain modifications, at another special meeting of the Committee held on the 21st June.

186. On the 23rd June, a General Meeting of the members of the Association was convened, when the scheme of standardisation in respect of muster rolls and wages as formulated by the Committee of the Bombay Millowners' Association for adoption by members having their mills situated in the City of Bombay, including Kurla, was finally approved and accepted.

DISCUSSION OF SCHEME.

187. The Scheme as approved by the General Body of the members of the Association was discussed at several meetings between the representatives of the Association and the Joint Strike Committee, but no general agreement regarding the scheme as a whole could be arrived at. The Millowners stated in their evidence before us that several changes were made in the scheme in deference to the views of the representatives of Labour; and this is borne out by the differences between the original scheme and the amended ones, which have been placed before us. Meanwhile the Joint Strike Committee had put forward their own Scheme, which was based on that of the Millowners' Association, merely proposing increased rates and allowances. Both Schemes have to be considered by us under our Terms of Reference.

PARTIAL ACCEPTANCE OF SCHEME BY LABOUR REPRESENTATIVES.

188. Before us the Joint Strike Committee at first opposed the Millowners' Scheme, and repudiated the idea of their having accepted any part of it. We are glad, however, to be able to state that, as a result of meetings between representatives of the Millowners' Association and the Joint Strike Committee in January and February last, the main proposals in the Scheme, as then modified by the Association, were accepted, subject to some general objections and some qualifications. The final form of the Standardisation Scheme, as submitted to us, after these discussions with the Labour representatives, is contained in Appendix VIII. We do not think it necessary in the circumstances to reproduce the two Schemes as they existed on the 4th October 1928.

DESCRIPTION OF SCHEME.

189. The Millowners' Scheme follows in the main the "Uniform Lists" which obtain in Lancashire. It was stated in the evidence led before us that it was subjected to the continual criticism of technical experts and was modified, altered, and amended, where necessary, as each new point was brought to the notice of the Sub-Committee.

190. The Scheme of the Millowners may be, and has during discussion been, divided into two parts, *viz.*, (1) the Standardisation Scheme proper for the regulation of wages and work for the majority of the mills in Bombay as they have been working hitherto, and (2) the Efficiency Scheme,

loosely called in discussion "Rationalisation", which is contained in Appendix IX, and is for the regulation of wages for work requiring greater efficiency, such as the attendance by a Sider on two sides of a ring-frame instead of the ordinary one, or by a weaver on 3 or 4 looms instead of the ordinary two, with a suitable increase in wages. The fundamental principle underlying the whole Scheme is stated by the Millowners' Association to be "a fair day's wage for a fair day's work". They desire that—

(1) There should be no variation between mill and mill in the rates of wages of operatives of the same class doing the same amount of work with the same skill with similar machinery and material, and that variations in the earnings of individuals should depend on their own individual labour and skill as tested by production.

(2) Operatives should not suffer owing to defects in machinery or material.

(3) Under the Standardisation Scheme proper almost all the operatives except the weavers should get at least the same average wages that they have been hitherto getting, provided they work with reasonable efficiency, but that there should be a cut of 7½ per cent. from the present average wages of the weavers.

191. The agreement arrived at about the Millowners' Scheme has much simplified our task, but we think it advisable to discuss the Scheme first of all on its merits and with due regard to the various objections that were raised to it. In considering it, the first essential is to arrive at a conclusion as to the general principles to be followed in determining whether it is fair and reasonable. It must be borne in mind that this involves four principal questions, *viz.*—

GENERAL PRINCIPLES TO BE FOLLOWED IN DETERMINING WHETHER SCHEME IS FAIR AND REASONABLE.

(1) Is standardisation of wages desirable, and if so, should it be on the lines of the Lancashire "Uniform Lists"?

(2) If yes, does the Scheme provide for fair and reasonable wages, apart from the proposed cut of 7½ per cent. in weavers' wages?

(3) Is that cut fair and reasonable?

(4) Is the Scheme, so far as it lays down a "Standardised Muster" (*i.e.*, regulates the number of operatives employed in certain departments or on certain machines) fair and reasonable?

192. In this Chapter we propose merely to discuss the general principles that affect these issues. The question whether any particular wages are "fair and reasonable" is one that opens very wide and controversial issues, as was long ago pointed out in Australia, where the Legislature left it to the Commonwealth Arbitration Court to prescribe "fair and reasonable wages" without any definition of that expression.* We have had, in consequence, a very extensive discussion, in the course of which some of the Labour representatives have expressed views which may briefly be described as Socialistic or Communistic. But we take it as a fundamental stand-point that the fairness of the proposed Scheme is

* See Bulletin No. 23 of Indian Industries and Labour, Conciliation and Arbitration by R. N. Gilchrist, page 225.

to be judged not according to standards which might be applicable under "Nationalisation of Industry" or some other change of system from the present so-called "Capitalist" one, but under existing standards appropriate to that system. This is the basis on which awards are made in all Arbitration Courts, etc., in the British Empire, and one might say in all the world excepting Russia.

ECONOMIC CONDITION OF INDUSTRY TO BE CONSIDERED.

193. The next consideration that we would lay stress on is that the economic condition of the industry is, in our view, a factor that should be given due weight in judging the Scheme. The doctrine of a minimum, basic or living wage, is one that we have already discussed; and it is sufficient to say here that though in some countries it is held that such a wage should be paid by any industry, even if its economic condition renders it difficult or almost impossible to do so, in our opinion, due regard must be had to the state of the industry in considering whether certain wages are, or are not, fair and reasonable. This is a factor which the Labour representatives showed a tendency to ignore in the course of the discussions before us. On the other hand, we have to bear in mind the temptation for an employer, when anxious to meet the stress of competition, to seize upon wages as being the element of cost which can most easily and substantially be reduced. These considerations are important, when we come to the question of the proposed cut in weavers' wages and the contention of the Joint Strike Committee that the savings proposed to be made thereby could be obtained by reasonable economies in management.

SUCCESS OF THE LANCASHIRE SYSTEM.

194. Before, however, commencing a discussion of the wages proposed under the Scheme, it is of course necessary to decide whether standardisation is desirable and, if so, on the lines proposed. As already mentioned, the Scheme follows the Lancashire system, with modifications, said to be necessary or desirable to adapt it to local conditions. There is ample testimony to the general success of the Lancashire Standardisation Lists of Wages, which were first introduced in the days of hand-loom weaving,* and which have stood the test of over half a century's experience. They provide for payment of wages by piece-rates, and the system has spread in the cotton industry in Lancashire so as to cover the majority of the workers employed.† Some trades in England prefer a system of time-work; but there is no question about the preference of the great textile industries for piece-work systems. The system has arisen mainly at the instance of the workers and their representatives. The reason for this preference can perhaps best be given in the words of Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb in their well known work on Trade Union problems and policy "Industrial Democracy" at pages 288-289:—

"On asking a leading official of the Cotton-spinners' Union why he objected to time wages, he replied that, in his opinion, it was only the

* "The Lancashire Cotton Industry" by S. J. Chapman (1904), p. 263.

† "Survey of Industrial Relations" (1926) by the Committee on Industry and Trade, pp. 115, 116. Chapman's "Lancashire Cotton Industry," p. 272

system of piece-work remuneration that had saved his trade from the evils of sweating. The work of a cotton-spinner, he explained, varies in intensity (and his product in quantity) according to the number of spindles which he has to attend to, and the speed at which the machinery runs, conditions over which the operative has no control. Owing to the introduction of mules bearing an increased number of spindles, and the constant ' speeding up ' of the machinery, the amount of work placed upon the operative is steadily, though often imperceptibly, increased. If he were paid by the hour or the day, he would need, in order to maintain the same rate of remuneration for the work done, to discover each day precisely to what degree the machinery was being ' speeded up,' and to be perpetually making demands for an increase in his time wages. Such an arrangement could not fail to result in the employer increasing the work faster than the pay.

" Under a system of payment by the amount of yarn spun, the operative automatically gets the benefit of any increase in the number of spindles or rate of speed. An exact uniformity of the rate of remuneration is maintained between man and man, and between mill and mill. If any improvement takes place in the process, by which the operative's labor is reduced, the onus of procuring a change in the rate of pay falls on the employer. The result is, that so effectually is the cotton-spinner secured by his piece-work lists against being compelled to give more work without more pay, that it has been found desirable deliberately to concede to the employers, by lowering the rates as the number of spindles increases, some share of the resulting advantages, in order that the Trade Union may encourage enterprising mill-owners in the career of improvement. The cotton-weavers have a similar experience. The weaver's labor depends upon the character of the cloth to be woven, involving a complicated calculation of the number of ' picks ', etc. Time wages would leave them practically at the employers' mercy for all but the very easiest work. But by a highly technical and complex list of piece-work rates, every element by which the labor is increased effects an exactly corresponding variation in the remuneration. Only under such a system could any uniformity of rate be secured."

Similarly, Mr. G. D. H. Cole, who writes from a strong Trade Union point of view, in his book " The Payment of Wages " (page 81) says :—

" The industry in which price lists have been most fully and perfectly developed is undoubtedly the cotton industry, where the standard price lists of the weavers, and to a less extent of the spinners, have stood the test of long years of experience, and have proved on the whole a satisfactory method of wage-payment."

And again he says (page 108) :—

" In the cotton and other textile industries, the piece-work system is hardly questioned."

We may also cite the great industrial economist, Marshall, who in his work " Industry and Trade " (1919 Edition, pages 382-383) says :—

"And yet the most important successes in the attainment of 'standard rates of pay by piece', in this the only true sense of the term, have their origin in different and nearly opposite circumstances. They are found in industries in which almost precisely the same task has long been performed by many thousands of workers in almost the same way. Especially in the Lancashire cotton industry the standard piece-rate of wages is a true standard rate : for experience has gradually set up understandings as to the allowances to be made in regard to both quantity and quality of output for particular shortcomings in plant, material or other elements. If an operative thinks that insufficient allowance is made on these accounts in any case, an official of his Trade-union is called to arbitrate, with or without the presence of an official of the Employers' Federation. In many cases the judgment of the Trade-union official alone is accepted : if both officials are summoned, they nearly always agree, and their decision is adopted without demur. This standard is in no sense an ' absolute ' standard : it does no more than to insure a fair approach to uniformity of remuneration to equally efficient workers in different factories. The enterprising employer is rewarded for his good deeds, and so is the skilful and energetic employee : there is an almost perfectly level rate of real remuneration throughout each sub-division of the industry."

195. This last quotation brings out the necessity for co-operation of labour representatives for the successful working of the system, a point fully recognised by the Millowners' Association and with which we deal later on. Provided this co-operation is forthcoming, we can see no reason why standardisation on the Lancashire lines should not have equal success in Bombay. There are no doubt difficulties attaching to the scheme, inasmuch as an operative's earnings may be affected by shortcomings in plant, material or other elements beyond his control ; but the same difficulties have arisen in Lancashire and been surmounted by a system of allowances, as Professor Marshall points out in the passage already cited. In addition, the complaint that the men were defrauded by spinning being made finer than what it was stated to be has been largely met by the use of an instrument known as the indicator* and, speaking generally, effective steps are taken by the trade unions to prevent operatives suffering in wages from defective material or bad machinery.† In fact, as is stated in Webb's " Industrial Democracy " (page 413) it is the trade union in Lancashire which "most strenuously insists on having the very latest improvements in machinery " and " actually penalises the employer who fails to introduce " new machinery. Similar arrangements are quite possible here. The contention that the scheme will be unintelligible to

NECESSITY OF CO-OPERATION FROM LABOUR.

DIFFICULTIES ATTACHING TO THE SCHEME.

* See Chapman's " The Lancashire Cotton Industry", p. 267.

† Chapman's " The Lancashire Cotton Industry", pp. 269-270.

the ordinary spinner or weaver applies almost equally to Lancashire. Thus, Mr. Cole in " The Payment of Wages " at page 81 says :—

> " The weavers' list is, to the outsider, one of the most complicated documents in existence, and one which is completely unintelligible to those who are not experts at the trade. Nevertheless, given the necessary expert knowledge, the computing of the price to be paid for any particular operation is in most cases merely a matter of mathematics. The calculations involved are often exceedingly complicated, and require the taking into account of a very large number of different factors, so that the list itself is long and contains many complicated elements. It is, however, possible, with the list as basis, to fix the price for any operation with the nearest approximation to mathematical certainty that any industry is likely to attain."

It is probable that, with experience, the piece-worker may become familiar with the standard rates and allowances that govern his earnings; and such a result should be facilitated by the agreement of the Millowners' Association to put up notices in vernacular showing the rates of piece-work in detail, in accordance with the Joint Strike Committee's Demand No. 6.

ADVANTAGES OF THE SCHEME.

196. While, therefore, the difficulties appertaining to such a scheme are not insurmountable, it has clear advantages which may be summarised as follows :—

(1) The method adopted is that of fixing piece-prices by reference to a standard, with provisions for the extras payable and deductions to be made if any variation is made from this standard. A list framed on these lines can readily be applied not alone to the fixing of prices in relation to articles and processes existing at the time of the compilation of the list and specifically provided for in its construction, but also to the determination of piece-wages in relation to new articles and processes which may from time to time be introduced.*

(2) The scheme aims at providing automatically for an operative getting the benefit of any increased effort on his part, *e.g.*, an increase in the number of spindles he looks after or in the rate of speed of the machinery. This tends to make both the mills and the operatives try to increase their efficiency.

(3) Indirect deductions from wages such as were complained of at the time of the general strike will be almost entirely prevented.

(4) Subject to exceptions and special cases, an exact uniformity of the rate of remuneration is maintained between man and man and mill and mill, so that competition between mills and disputes due to higher or lower wages being given in different mills for the same quantity and quality of work are practically done away with.

(5) While the element of error cannot be totally eliminated, it has been found in Lancashire to be reduced to such small

* Cf. Report on Collective Agreements between Employers and Workpeople in the United Kingdom, prepared by the Board of Trade (Labour Department) in 1910, p. xx.

proportions that Mr. Cole in 1928 is able to say ("The Payment of Wages," page 83) that "there is at present no really important problem outstanding for solution except that arising from defective material."

(6) The scheme does not hinder or prevent an increase or reduction in wages due to rise or fall in prices: the usual method in Lancashire is not to alter the list but to add or deduct a certain percentage on or off all piece-work prices, and the same could be done here.

(7) The scheme has the desirable element of welcoming the co-operation of labour representatives which, it may be hoped, will (as in Lancashire) lead to reduction in the number of serious disputes and consequent strikes or lock-outs.

OPINION OF COMMITTEE AS TO LINES ON WHICH SCHEME WAS DRAWN UP.

197. We think, therefore, that Standardisation of wages is desirable, that the millowners were well advised to follow the lines of the Lancashire lists in drawing up their Scheme, and that the basis of the proposed standardisation is a suitable one. It will afford a great improvement on the present conditions under which the worker, sometimes, does not obtain commensurate, or even any, increase of remuneration for extra effort or skill. In saying this, we refer of course to all piece-workers the majority of whom are weavers. As pointed out in paragraph 61 of the Tariff Board Report, there are practically no spinners on piece-work, and it is clearly desirable to extend that system of payment to them.

LABOUR OPPOSITION TO THE SCHEME.

198. We have already mentioned the favour with which the Lancashire lists are regarded by the workers and their trade unions in England. In view of this, it is somewhat surprising to find the opposition that a scheme on the same lines has provoked among labour representatives who appeared before us; the more so as in the Tariff Board Enquiry the Bombay Textile Labour Union advocated standardisation of wages,* and Mr. N. M. Joshi, M.L.A., gave evidence in support of the view that difficulties due to differences of machinery, changes of pattern in weaving, etc., could be surmounted.† It was also one of the "Seventeen Demands" put forward during the general strike. Objection to the proposed cut of weavers' wages and to a reduction in the number of operatives employed are of course intelligible, but some of the objections raised in the Joint Strike Committee's written statement about the scheme seem to evince antagonism to the whole idea of standardisation. It was stated, for instance, that the scheme is not a workable one because it has not been preceded by a census of the machines used in the industry and a census to obtain the average efficiency of each worker and the machine on which he is employed. It does not appear that any such census was made in Lancashire before the various lists were adopted; and we do not think a census of this kind would have made any material difference. The drafters of the scheme included men who are technical

* Tariff Board Report, Vol. III, para. 36, p. 452.
† Pages 527 and 539 of the Report, Vol. III.

experts and have had great experience of spinning and weaving both in Lancashire and India; and *prima facie* they have adequate material from their own knowledge and experience for fixing such averages. And, as already pointed out, the scheme was not prepared without prior enquiries. The Sub-Committee appointed by the Association obtained full information as to wages and number of operatives employed in each mill; the details of the scheme were submitted to criticism and discussed with other technical experts; and for one particular purpose special tests were taken in a mill which was working during the strike. Other similar tests could unfortunately not be taken. The framers have, in our opinion, shown both care and ability in its preparation. They have all along admitted that it must be tested by experience and should be subject to revision after a few months, as stated in the second report of the Standardisation Sub-Committee of the Millowners' Association; and this has been stressed before us by Mr. Stones on behalf of the Millowners' Association. It has further been conceded that for the successful working of the scheme it will be essential to set up a joint committee, consisting of representatives of the mill or mills concerned and an equal number of representatives of the trade union or unions concerned, to enquire into disputes arising under the scheme and to endeavour to arrange a settlement. Proposals accordingly have been made by the Millowners' Association, and been accepted by the Labour Representatives which are dealt with in paragraph 282. We agree that some machinery of this kind is essential and are satisfied that, given goodwill on the part of labour representatives, the scheme can be worked with the same absence of friction as has attended it in Lancashire.

JOINT COMMITTEE OF MILLOWNERS AND LABOUR FOR ENQUIRING INTO DISPUTED QUESTIONS.

199. It is true that the scheme was not prepared in consultation with representatives of labour, as recommended by the Tariff Board in paragraph 65 of their report, because of the general strike; but in any case its drafting was a task which would primarily fall on the millowners, as Mr. N. M. Joshi himself stated in his evidence before the Tariff Board.* The original scheme was discussed at several meetings between the representatives of the Association and the Joint Strike Committee, as already mentioned; and though no agreement was arrived at, the scheme was modified as a result of the discussion. The Joint Strike Committee's Standardisation Scheme is itself based on the same system as that of the Millowners' Association and this points to the conclusion that they considered its general plan to be on right lines. In the subsequent negotiations the revised scheme was virtually accepted by the Labour representatives for the purpose of reaching a settlement of the strike; and the negotiations broke down only on the question of the proposed cut in the weavers' wages. It is urged that this was done under the stress of a desire to end the strike, which had lasted for nearly six months, by a compromise; and the position now is of course not the same as it was then. Yet the above facts certainly weaken the contention that the scheme is one that should be rejected as not framed on a proper

* Volume III of the Report, page 539.

basis. The agreement that was come to about the Scheme in January last in effect concedes this.

"HORIZONTAL" AND "VERTICAL" SPECIALISATION.

200. It was contended by Mr. Dange that there is a difference of methods of manufacture which renders the Lancashire list unsuitable to Bombay. This refers to what is called the "horizontal" specialisation in Lancashire, as opposed to the "vertical" specialisation followed in India and more extensively in Japan. On this point the written statement of the Millowners' Association on "The Rational System" says :—

> "All cotton manufacturing countries use one of the two methods of manufacturing or a combination of both in varying degrees, *viz.*,
>
> 1. Horizontal specialisation linked up by different classes of middlemen, which permits of small units.
> 2. Vertical specialisation in which all processes are concentrated in one hand from the raw material to the finished product, necessitating large units and limitation of style.
>
> "The latter is the system developed by the Bombay Mill Industry and is the ideal system for the production of cloth and yarn required in huge quantities, but fails where small quantities of varied products are required, or where flexibility and ability to meet rapid changes of styles are necessary."

This appears to be a correct description of the difference between the two systems ; and it is obvious that the vertical system tends to simplification. Thus in the intensified vertical specialisation adopted in the Manchester Mills (in Bombay), there are only two varieties of piece-goods produced, *viz.*, 3-yard sheetings and 13½ lb. drills ; and the difficulties that Mr. Dange referred to could not arise. In the case, however, of the general run of Bombay Mills, as stated in the written statement just referred to, there is no such specialisation, for "while organised vertically, there is too much variety in the equipment to permit of intensive competition with the Japanese." In other words, their conditions are similar to those of Lancashire, where a large variety of patterns are produced, generally in small quantities to meet orders received from time to time. There is thus in the main an approximation to Lancashire conditions, and not the reverse as Mr. Dange suggested.

201. We think we have noticed all the main objections to the Scheme ; but if we have overlooked any, this is not of much consequence, in view of the agreement that has been come to about the Scheme.

202. The above disposes of the main general questions arising in regard to the scheme, so far as it purports to regulate wages. There remains the general question of its propriety, so far as it will lead to a reduction in the number of operatives, and consequent unemployment. This is a factor, which has larger proportions in the "Efficiency" or "Rational" system that is discussed in Chapter VII ; but the contention that the scheme is objectionable because of the unemployment it will cause is one that confronts

PROPRIETY OF SCHEME AS REGARDS RESULTING UNEMPLOYMENT.

us at the outset. Against it the Millowners' Association can rightly urge that, in proposing to reduce the number of workers, they are merely carrying out the recommendations of the Tariff Board in paragraph 61 of their Report, where they express the opinion (1) that the extension of the piece-work system to spinners should be accompanied by an increase in the number of spindles allotted to each spinner, (2) that an operative might look after two roving frames instead of one, and (3) that the number of weavers who look after three or four looms should be increased. That undoubtedly is a strong point in favour of the proposed reductions, but we cannot take it as conclusive. We have to consider whether the proposals are fair and reasonable, having regard to the evidence and arguments before us. The details can be considered later; at present we need only discuss the question whether the mere fact that the scheme involves such a reduction in the number of operatives renders it unreasonable. We are not in a position to state whether there is much unemployment at present among millhands in Bombay, but the Scheme will necessarily involve an addition to any such unemployment. From the estimates of both sides it seems probable that the proposed reduction of operatives under the Standardisation Scheme proper will be about 1,500, mostly dofferboys and tarwallas in the Spinning Department. The number of operatives that will be displaced by a general adoption of the 'Rational' or 'Efficiency' Scheme will be very much larger. This of course will give rise to some distress among the men and women discharged, though it is probably an exaggeration to speak of starvation, as has been done by some of the Labour representatives. As is pointed out in Miss G. M. Broughton's "Labour in Indian Industries" (1924), at page 111, the possibility of a return to agricultural employment puts the Indian labourer, who mostly comes from the agricultural classes, in a much stronger position than a factory-worker in England, to whom no such alternative is open; and the length of the general strike appears to bear this out. But, as has been noted in paragraph 11, the fear of unemployment contributed largely to that strike; and one has only to put oneself in the place of a worker who is threatened with loss of employment to realise that it is a natural feeling. His means of livelihood may be taken away; and it is cold comfort to him to be told that the cheapening of production consequent on his and others' dismissals will bring increased demand, and increased demand for the goods will bring better employment and higher wages. An entire disregard of the suffering entailed by loss of employment is out of place, and has caused much bitterness on the side of labour. This has been the subject of caustic comment by writers on Unemployment;* and a more humanitarian principle is now being recognised. The International Labour Conference at Washington in 1919 † adopted a recommendation in favour of the establishment of an effective system

EFFECT OF FURTHER UNEMPLOYMENT.

RECOMMENDATION OF THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE OF 1919.

* *e. g.*, John Calder, "Capital's Duty to the Wage Earner (1923), page 46, and Warren B. Catlin, "The Labour Problem", (1927), page 385.

† Report of the First Annual Meeting of the International Labour Conference at Washington, page 259.

of unemployment insurance, either through a Government system or through a system of Government subventions to associations, whose rules provide for the payment of benefits to their unemployed members. No doubt, the progress in this respect in most countries has been slow; and though the recommendation is now being carried out by all the larger European States, there is probably no scheme comparing in thoroughness with the British Scheme.* Even in the United States of America, where it is well known that in spite of their prosperity considerable unemployment is prevalent, the worker has no "State or municipal protection" against it.† On the other hand there are some instances where private firms have adopted unemployment insurance schemes‡ some of which are non-contributory; and during the War the textile industry in the States was made to bear the cost of maintaining its unemployed by levying a tax on the spindles running, by which the unemployed received a maintenance grant.§ Ordinarily, no doubt, the alleviation of *general* unemployment due to trade depression and other "world wide" causes is a matter mainly for Government and the general taxpayer to shoulder; but now-a-days there is surely a good basis for the view that, if an industry seeks to reduce the costs of production by "rationalisation" or scientific management, it is under an obligation at any rate to help towards the mitigation of hardship due to consequent loss of employment by some of its workers. Thus the recent World Economic Conference at Geneva which adopted a resolution (Appendix X) in favour of "rationalisation as a means of increasing output, improving conditions of labour and reducing costs of production, contains the following reservations:

LIABILITY OF INDUSTRY TO HELP TOWARDS ALLEVIATING UNEMPLOYMENT.

> "It must be applied with the care which is necessary in order, while at the same time continuing the process of rationalisation, not to injure the legitimate interests of the workers; and suitable measures should be provided for cases where during the first stage of its realisation it may result in loss of employment or more arduous work."

203. We think that this principle should be given weight in the present inquiry, and that the mere fact that Government have not yet taken up the question of unemployment and provided measures of alleviation such as have been adopted in the United Kingdom and some other countries, affords no sufficient ground for Millowners to wash their hands of the whole business. On the contrary, we consider that it is in their own interests to take some steps to mitigate hardships entailed in the introduction of the Scheme, which is in some respects a form of Rationalisation, and thus lessen the opposition to it or at any rate any reasonable cause for bitterness. This opinion applies *a fortiori* to the introduction of the "Efficiency" Schemes. We accordingly make some

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* Report of the Unemployment Insurance Committee in the United Kingdom (1927), paragraph 33, pages 19 and 20.

† International Labour Office Report, No. A-27 on "Industrial Relations in the United States" (1927), pages 31 and 79.

‡ *Ibid* page 79; Catlin's "The Labour Problem", page 72, and Calder's "Capital's Duty to the Wage-Earner," pages 240 to 242.

§ Archibald Chisholm's "Labour's Magna Charta" (1921), page 160.

suggestions under this head in paragraph 292. At the same time the proposed Labour Commission will doubtless inquire into the whole question of alleviating unemployment, and we do not intend to lay down any general principle in the matter.

OPINION OF COMMITTEE AS TO LABOUR OBJECTIONS TO ANY REDUCTIONS IN NUMBERS EMPLOYED.

204. Subject to the above remarks we think that the objection taken by the Labour representatives to any reduction of employment in the mills goes too far. This was not the position taken up by the Textile Labour Union and the Girni Kamgar Mahamandal in the Tariff Board Enquiry. The former stated:*

> "The Union considers that there is a reasonable prospect of securing reduction in labour costs by training operatives to tend more spindles and looms."

The latter stated: †

> "If operatives are properly trained and some inducement is also held out to them, there is sure to be a reduction in working costs. But unfortunately nothing has been done in this direction till now by the mills and so no improvement can be expected. This is a very practicable and valuable suggestion. Labour can easily be trained gradually to tend more spindles and looms. Gradually carried out, this is bound to be a success. But at the same time, owners must not expect to reap all the benefit of this increased output. In that case there cannot be any incentive to the worker to progress if he is paid the same as the other workers with lower efficiency."

No objection was taken on the ground that it would cause unemployment. Moreover this objection is not supported by the general attitude of trade unions elsewhere towards rationalisation, or scientific management, resulting in unemployment. Thus Mons. Paul Devinat of the International Labour Office in his "Scientific Management in Europe" says:‡

> "We have now to consider the opinion of the trade unions. Since the war there has been a considerable change in their attitude. Although not entirely free from mistrust, and not completely won over to scientific management, they no longer condemn the system *en bloc*. They seem to tend more and more towards a policy, the main lines of which are somewhat as follows: Scientific management in itself, in so far as it represents industrial progress and actually contributes towards a reduction in the costs of production, is not to be condemned. On the other hand, the abuses which have arisen, especially those designed to put all profits of scientific management into the pockets of the employers and to increase production at the expense of the working classes, call for the fullest condemnation. Such being the case, the trade unions must intervene, here, as in all other domains, in defence of the interests of their members."

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* Tariff Board Report, Vol. III, paragraph 80, page 473.

† Tariff Board Report, Vol. III, paragraph 80, page 563.

‡ International Labour Office, B series, No. 17, 1927, page 153.

Again, as already remarked, Trade Unions in Lancashire and elsewhere in the United Kingdom encouraged the use of improved labour-aiding machinery in the cotton mills; and the result has been clearly beneficial in increasing the number of operatives employed, which between 1831 and 1911 approximately trebled, although the population of the United Kingdom had not even doubled.* The contention in fact savours of the old objection of the handloom-weavers to machinery, which resulted in the "Luddites" or machine-breaking riots of 1811. It would check economic and industrial progress, and almost inevitably lead to the ruin of the cotton mill industry in the fierce competition of to-day, if objections of this kind are allowed to prevail. The workers may of course be strong enough to enforce their wish to the contrary by the arbitrament of conflict between their organised forces and those of the employers; but this possibility cannot prevent us from holding that, subject to the remarks we have made in paragraphs 202 and 203, the objection is not one that makes the scheme an unfair and unreasonable one. In saying this, we of course do not exclude consideration of questions whether any extra work proposed to be put on the operative would involve an unfair strain on him, or whether he is adequately remunerated for his increased effort. This can best be reserved for a detailed consideration of the scheme, but has been largely settled by the agreement arrived at.

* W. Howard Hazell's "Labour and Capital in Alliance" (1927), page 61.

CHAPTER V.

THE WAGE CUT.

MEANING OF THE PROPOSAL.

205. As already mentioned the Standardisation Scheme is based on the view that there should be a cut of 7½ per cent. in the average wages of a two-loom weaver. What this means can be best expressed in the following way. According to the Wages Enquiry of 1926, the average monthly earnings of a two-loom weaver working 26 days in a month were Rs. 47-12-0, or say Rs. 48. The Standardisation Scheme proposes that this average should be reduced to one of Rs. 44-8-0. In support of this proposal the Millowners' Association cite the remarks of the Tariff Board in paragraph 61 of their Report, where they draw attention to the disparity between the wages of spinners and weavers. The Board point out that this is contrary to the practice in other countries where the wages of spinners and weavers are practically the same. After giving some figures as to their respective wages in Japan, they say, " Considered in the light of world conditions in this respect, it would seem that either the wages of the Indian spinner are too low or those of the weaver too high, or else that the efficiency of the Indian spinner is low as compared with that of the Indian weaver. This disparity in the wages of weavers and spinners is a matter which, in our view, deserves the consideration of the industry. The reform we have suggested, the introduction of the piecework system in the spinning department, coupled with an increase in the number of spindles allotted to each spinner, would assist in rectifying it. The suggestion we have put forward in the preceding paragraph should enable difficulties arising in the transition stage to be surmounted. An increase in the number of spare hands entertained by the mills would, in normal circumstances, permit of assistance being given to those spinners who are unable easily to accommodate themselves to the new conditions." It is urged by the Millowners' Association that the Board in the above passage in effect proposed that a weaver's wages should be reduced, so as to approximate to those of a spinner. Mr. Bakhale on the other hand contended that the Board did not in any way suggest a wage cut. The truth appears to us to be that the Board made no definite recommendation one way or the other, and contented themselves with saying that the question of the disparity in wages should be gone into. The general remarks in paragraph 59 of the Report as to the difficulty of effecting any reduction in wages cannot properly be taken as indicating that the Board definitely ruled out such a step. On the contrary, their reference to a rise in the spinner's wage resulting from an increase in the number of spindles allotted to him as " assisting in " rectifying the disparity, points to their having contemplated the possibility of some further step towards this end, such as a reduction in the weaver's wage. But except

TARIFF BOARD'S REMARKS AS TO DISPARITY BETWEEN WAGES OF SPINNERS AND WEAVERS.

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for this suggestion about the spinner's wage and the proposal that the disparity should be considered, they make no definite proposals and express no opinions. The difficulty of effecting any reduction in wages, to which they refer in paragraph 59, would, however, naturally apply also to any proposal to cut the wages of a section of the operatives, such as the weavers. In fact this proposal was, as the history of the negotiations at the end of the general strike shows, the main stumbling block in the way of its settlement. There was at one stage a counter-proposal of the Joint Strike Committee that the cut should be reduced from 7½ to 3⅛ per cent., but eventually they refused to agree to any cut at all.

206. At the outset it will be convenient to dispose of some general questions which were raised in the course of the discussion. One of the main contentions in the Written Statement of the Joint Strike Committee about the proposed wage-cut is that the Millowners' Association should first show that they have made all possible economies in management, and that the saving expected from the cut cannot be otherwise obtained. It is roughly estimated that this saving would amount to about Rs. 14,00,000 a year, and it is urged that this sum could be saved by a sounder and more economical management. This raises a question of some difficulty. The Millowners' Association contend that they have substantially carried out the main recommendations of the Tariff Board under this head, and gave evidence in support of their assertion. On the other hand Mr. N. M. Joshi and Mr. Bakhale strongly contended that there was no satisfactory evidence of this, and that the Committee should find out whether it is not practicable for the Millowners to reduce their costs of production in other directions than in the Wages' Bill. At the commencement of our enquiry, we were asked to make an elaborate enquiry on this point in regard to each mill in Bombay and to call upon the Millowners' Association to supply detailed statistics as to the wages of each mill; its production of yarn and cloth; its expenditure of all kinds including the purchase of cotton, brokerage, commission, etc.; its head office charges; the quantity and value of cotton and stores used; the cost of production of cloth and yarn; interest and insurance charges; the quantity and cost per one horse power of the fuel used; the efficiency of various machinery; the percentage of waste in some departments; and the technical qualifications of directors, managers, and other principal officers. This, in our opinion, would have unjustifiably extended the scope of the enquiry contemplated by our Terms of Reference, and we disallowed the request, except in regard to some statistics about the wages of each mill and in regard to the production of its Articles of Association and Balance Sheets for the last three years. No doubt this question of possible economies is relevant to the question of the proposed cut in the wages of weavers, but it is not one on which any helpful opinion can be expressed by us. We also feel that for such an enquiry a committee entirely composed of businessmen would be more

POSSIBILITIES OF SAVINGS BY ECONOMIES IN MANAGEMENT.

PROPOSED DETAILED ENQUIRY.

REASONS FOR REFUSING IT.

suitable than the present one. On the other hand we think that some weight can properly be attached to the assertion of the Millowners that they have made real efforts to effect economies in management. They have had, in these times of stress, a clear incentive to do so, and their attention has been called by the Tariff Board's Report to various directions in which economy and improvements might be effected. In fact the Tariff Board on page 18 of their Report say, "It is undoubtedly the case that the Millowners have endeavoured to reduce their costs as much as possible." The Association was asked by the Government of India to report as to what action had been taken on various recommendations of that kind, and their reply gives details, which were supported by evidence before us. We are of the opinion that there is a legitimate presumption that, speaking generally, a genuine attempt has been made to economize in other directions, and that the proposed cut in weavers' wages cannot reasonably be turned down on the ground that the amount thereby saved could be met by further economies in management. In saying that, we do not of course mean that the argument should not be taken into consideration as raising a possible doubt whether it is really necessary for the Millowners to resort to this wage-cut for helping the industry to revive; nor do we mean to express any opinion that further economies in management are impossible. One suggestion that obviously arises is whether the example of financial re-organization in the Cotton Spinning Industry in Lancashire might not be followed here. There has been a certain amount of amalgamation and combinations in this section of the industry since 1898,* but the new proposals which have been recommended by a Joint Committee of Cotton Trade organizations, on which operatives were represented, are reported to have reached a practical stage in January last, and to be supported by the Banks, who are the largest and best secured creditors. The Report of the Joint Committee to which we have referred says :—

OPINION OF THE COMMITTEE.

SUGGESTION FOR COMBINATION OF MILLS.

"We believe that grouping or amalgamation of mills, on the basis which we have outlined, would not only solve immediate financial problems, but would be followed by many other benefits, including—

(1) Saving in fixed interest charges.
(2) Better use and disposal of waste products.
(3) Bulk buying of cotton in whichever market offers the best possibilities.
(4) Bulk buying and centralisation of stores.
(5) Specialisation and concentration of production.
(6) Saving in management expenses.
(7) Saving in directors' fees.
(8) Central control of policy.
(9) Elimination of intermediaries wherever possible.
(10) Centralisation and control of selling.
(11) Co-operation with succeeding sections of the trade, directed towards better marketing."

* Survey of Textile Industries by the Committee on Industry and Trade (1928) p. 24.

Sir Victor Sassoon has given evidence that there would be difficulties about similar rationalisation here, and we are not in a position to say he is wrong. There were, however, considerable difficulties in Lancashire, which have been overcome, such as the over-capitalisation and the bankrupt condition of many of the mills; and in view of this we think we can properly draw attention to this question as one worthy of consideration by the Millowners' Association. Possibly a less extensive combination than the one in Lancashire, *e.g.*, one restricted to a combined scheme for production of certain classes of goods and their export and sale, linked up with a system of Trade Commissioners who will keep the Millowners closely informed regarding local needs, might be found more suitable for Bombay. It may be added that an article in the "*Osaka Asahi*", to which we refer more particularly in paragraph 226, states that in Japan "as a means of tiding over the present bad times, rationalisation of the management was proposed by the Association of smaller spinning companies, and for the study of rationalisation as a practical measure a special committee has been appointed." We were also told by Mr. Stones that there are only five big firms in Japan, who are gradually absorbing all the little mills.

ALLEGED FAILURE OF MILLS TO MAKE BOOM TIME RESERVES.

207. Another argument against the wage-cut that was urged by the Labour representatives is that the Millowners failed to make proper provision, at the time when the industry was in a prosperous condition, for the cycle of depression that was bound to come; that this failure is to a very large extent responsible for the present situation; and that consequently the workers should not be made to suffer now. We do not say that this is a contention that cannot be put forward. It is for instance suggested by the English Labour Research Department in their book "Wages, Prices and Profits" (1922) at page 46. But it is obviously one that can be carried too far. Pushed to an extreme limit, it would practically mean that there should never be any wage reduction. The golden mean in regard to reserves for a bad time is difficult to achieve. It is not the case that the Millowners failed to add anything to their Reserves in the boom time; on the contrary over three crores were so added in each of the years 1920 and 1921, as against over 5 crores paid out in dividends. The amounts placed in Reserve might of course have been larger, and the Tariff Board (page 83) held that the dividends paid during the boom years were unduly high; but there are practical considerations on the other side. The Tariff Board (page 84) point out that it is not an easy matter to withstand either the clamour of shareholders who fail to realize that no boom lasts or the influence of the share market, which is apt to govern dividends in boom periods, and that the dividends paid by the mills in Bombay were, on the average, not on a higher scale than those paid by mills in Japan during the same period. Moreover by the payment of the bonus from 1919 to 1923, the Millowners gave the workers some share of the high profits to the extent of over 184 lakhs of Rupees*. We accordingly

* Report of the Millowners' Association, 1924, page 578.

think it would be unreasonable to hold that the proposed wage-cut is put out of court by this line of argument.

CONSIDERATION OF THE STATE OF THE INDUSTRY.

208. We next take up the consideration of the question whether the state of the industry can *prima facie* be said to be such as to justify the proposal to make a saving in this matter. For this purpose we think it desirable to get some idea of how the Cotton Textile Industry in Bombay now stands, as compared with 1926-27, when the Tariff Board Report was submitted. Two of the most important factors, which the Tariff Board held (pp. 69, 70, 101 and 102) had contributed to the depression in the industry, are the competition of Japan and the up-country mills; but before comparing the present figures on these points with those of previous years, we think it important to draw attention to the relative importance of the home and foreign markets at present available to the industry. The former has an enormous preponderance, which is brought out by the recent report of the Government of India Trade Mission to the Near East and Africa. Though one of the members of the Mission, Mr. Jeevandas P. Dutia, gave evidence before us that Japan was meeting 75 per cent. to 85 per cent. of the requirements of the Near East, etc., the Report is not altogether depressing reading. It shows (p. 240) that India supplies about 60 per cent. of the total market for cotton yarn and has about 90 per cent. of the trade in Iraq and Aden. The total present export to the area covered by the Report is some 12 million pounds of yarn, and the additional market that might be obtained by suitable organisation is 3 to 4 million pounds (page 249). In cotton piecegoods India at present exports to this area about 110 million yards, and the Trade Mission think this might be raised by some 80 to 90 million yards (*ib*). Though other manufacturing countries have succeeded in getting a greater share of the market in piecegoods, India still has over 20 per cent. of the total importations to Persia and Iraq (pp. 14 and 44). But, even if these markets expand to the extent thought possible with improved organization, and Bombay manages to secure most of this additional trade, it will bear a small relation to the Indian home market and its potential expansion.

IMPORTANCE OF THE HOME MARKET.

The Trade Mission Report itself points out (page 235) the great importance of this market "in which the annual consumption of mill-manufactured piecegoods is at present 3,800 million yards, of which 1,800 million yards are imported from other countries." The figures for 1927-28, which have been furnished to us by the Millowners' Association, show 3,921 million yards as the total quantity of piecegoods available for consumption in India, of which 1,973 million yards are imports. This leaves an existing market for Indian Mills of over 1,900 million yards, as compared with the existing overseas export to the Near East and Africa of 110 million yards, with a potential increase to 200 million yards. Similarly, the estimated poundage of yarn available for sale in India after allowing for cloth produced in Indian Mills, comes during the last fiscal year to 323 millions, as compared with the quantity of 12 million pounds, which is at present

exported to the Near East and Africa, and a total average export to all countries of 32·7 million pounds during the three years 1925-26, 1926-27 and 1927-28. We do not lose sight of the fact that these figures relate to what is "available for consumption," and that this does not necessarily correspond to what is actually consumed, as indicated by the fact that the uncleared stocks of yarn and cloth in the Bombay mills at the end of 1927 amounted to 39,000 and 152,000 bales respectively, the latter figure representing more than 2½ months' production, but this does not materially affect the comparison of the two markets.

COMPETITION FROM UPCOUNTRY MILLS.

209. Next, let us see whether the position of the Bombay mills has improved in regard to internal competition from up-country mills, which the Tariff Board in paragraph 46 of their Report held to be one of the most important factors contributing to the then depression in Bombay. The table LX in that paragraph, if partly reproduced and continued, gives the following figures of production :—

		Mill production of yarn in millions of pounds.	Mill production of cloth in millions of yards.
1924-25 ..	Bombay	327	986
	Rest of India	392	984
	Total ..	719	1,970
	Percentage of Bombay to all India	45·5	50·0
1925-26 ..	Bombay	262	872
	Rest of India	424	1,083
	Total ..	686	1,955
	Percentage of Bombay to all India	38·2	44·6
1926-27 ..	Bombay	345	1,135
	Rest of India	462	1,124
	Total ..	807	2,259
	Percentage of Bombay to all India	42·7	50·2
1927-28 ..	Bombay	319	1,131·5
	Rest of India	490	1,225
	Total ..	809	2,356·5
	Percentage of Bombay to all India	39·4	48·0
April-Nov. 1928.	Bombay	53	202
	Rest of India	320	876
	Total ..	373	1,078
	Percentage of Bombay to all India	14·2	18·7

PRODUCTION OF BOMBAY MILLS AS COMPARED WITH THAT OF REST OF INDIA.

210. It will be seen (allowing for strikes) that, though the percentage of yarn produced remains much the same, that of cloth production shows some improvement. The Bombay mills increased their production of cloth in each of the two years 1926-27 and 1927-28 by about 260 million yards. Part of this increase must no doubt be attributed to the fact that for about 2½ months in 1925 all the mills in Bombay were on strike; but allowing 230 million yards for this, there would still be an increase of about 30 million yards, as compared with the increased yardage of 41 and 142 millions by the rest of India.

211. On the other hand, the Bombay mills showed a decrease of 3½ million yards in 1927-28 as compared with 1926-27; whereas in all other parts of India, there was an increased production extending in Ahmedabad to as much as 18½ million yards, and in the rest of the Bombay Presidency to 46 million yards, resulting in a net increase for the whole of India of nearly 100 million yards.* The general result is that, while there has been some improvement in the production of cloth, it has not been commensurate with the advance in most of the rest of India. The figures for April-November 1928 are of course affected by the General Strike, which lasted from the 16th April to the 6th October.

212. An examination of the details of the piecegoods produced in Bombay City and other centres shows that the position is much the same as it was in 1925-26. The figures of the following table continue table LXIV at page 104 of the Tariff Board Report.

	1925-26.		1926-27.		1927-28.	
	Millions of yards.	Percentage of total production.	Millions of yards.	Percentage of total production.	Millions of yards.	Percentage of total production.
BOMBAY.						
Grey and Bleached.						
Chadars ..	26·8	3·1	30·3	2·7	31·2	2·8
Dhotis ..	115·4	13·2	150·2	13·2	168·8	14·9
Drills and Jeans .	38·4	4·4	49·8	4·4	59·2	5·2
Cambrics and lawns ..	1·5	·1	·4	..	2·4	·2
Printers ..	1·0	..	..	..	..	..
Shirtings and long cloth ..	306·8	35·2	374·0	32·9	378·0	33·4
T. Cloth, Domestics and Sheetings ..	36·2	4·2	48·6	4·4	39·4	3·5
Tent cloth ..	2·2	·3	2·3	·2	1·4	·1
Khadi ..	27·5	3·2	50·8	4·5	50·7	4·5
Other Sorts ..	10·3	1·2	11·3	·9	13·1	1·2
Total Grey and Bleached ..	566·1	64·9	717·7	63·2	744·2	65·8

* See Tables at pp. 560 to 567 of the Report of the Bombay Millowners' Association for 1927.

	1925-26.		1926-27.		1927-28.	
	Millions of yards.	Percentage of total production.	Millions of yards.	Percentage of total production.	Millions of yards.	Percentage of total production.
BOMBAY—*contd.*						
Coloured.						
Chadars ..	20·5	2·4	18·8	1·7	23·9	2·1
Lungis and Dhotis	16·2	1·9	18·0	1·6	18·5	1·6
Drills and Jeans .	63·6	7·3	84·4	7·4	58·5	5·2
Greys, dyed ..	12·8	1·4	37·7	3·3	50·0	4·4
Coloured Striped Saris and Susis.	130·6	15·0	141·2	12·5	123·8	10·9
Cotton tweeds and checks ..	53·9	6·2	92·1	8·1	76·3	6·8
Other sorts ..	8·2	·9	25·1	2·2	36·3	3·2
Total coloured goods ..	305·8	35·1	417·3	36·8	387·3	34·2
Total ..	871·9	100·0	1,135·0	100·0	1,131·5	100·0
AHMEDABAD.						
Grey and Bleached						
Chadars ..	15·7	3·2	14·4	2·8	13·0	2·5
Dhotis ..	221·3	44·4	241·9	47·7	236·5	44·9
Drills and Jeans .	2·8	0·6	1·4	·3	1·1	·3
Cambrics and Lawns ..	1·1	·2	1·5	·3	1·7	·3
Printers ..	7·8	1·6	4·6	·9	3·9	·8
Shirtings and long cloth ..	104·9	21·0	86·9	17·1	109·4	20·8
T. Cloth, Domestics and Sheetings ..	16·1	3·2	18·2	3·6	18·6	3·5
Tent Cloth ..	1·4	·3	..	..	·1	..
Khadi ..	3·0	·6	2·0	·4	3·2	·6
Others ..	13·1	2·6	8·3	1·6	8·4	1·6
Total Grey and Bleached ..	387·2	77·7	379·2	74·7	395·9	75·3
Coloured.						
Chadars ..	·1	·0	·1	..	..	..
Lungis and Dhotis	3·9	·9	2·2	·5	2·8	·5
Drills and Jeans .	·7	·1	·1	..	..	..
Greys, dyed ..	1·0	·2	1·2	·2	2·0	·4
Coloured Striped Saris and Susis.	99·5	19·9	118·2	23·3	121·2	23·1
Cotton tweeds and checks ..	3·8	·8	3·8	·8	1·3	·2
Other sorts ..	2·0	·4	2·5	·5	2·6	·5
Total coloured goods ..	111·0	22·3	128·1	25·3	129·9	24·7
Total ..	498·2	100·0	507·3	100·0	525·8	100·0

	1925-26.		1926-27.		1927-28.	
	Millions of yards.	Percentage of total production.	Millions of yards.	Percentage of total production.	Millions of yards.	Percentage of total production.
ALL INDIA.						
Grey and Bleached.						
Chadars ..	62·1	3·2	65·5	2·9	66·8	2·8
Dhotis ..	516·4	26·4	585·7	25·9	615·9	26·1
Drills and Jeans .	74·1	3·8	79·7	3·5	91·2	3·9
Cambrics and lawns ..	3·2	·2	3·4	·2	5·5	·2
Printers ..	25·9	1·3	20·9	·9	20·3	·9
Shirtings and long cloth ..	521·1	26·7	580·5	25·7	620·0	26·3
T. Cloth, domestics and Sheetings ..	74·1	3·8	93·3	4·1	92·2	3·9
Tent Cloth ..	9·0	·5	6·7	·3	6·1	·3
Khadi ..	87·4	4·4	98·8	4·4	116·1	4·9
Other sorts ..	41·0	2·1	42·7	1·9	40·9	1·7
Total grey and bleached goods ..	1,414·3	72·4	1,577·2	69·8	1,675·0	71·0
Coloured.						
Chadars ..	23·4	1·2				
Lungis and Dhotis	24·0	1·2				
Drills and Jeans.	88·1	4·6				
Greys, dyed ..	27·6	1·4	Not available.†		Not available.†	
Coloured striped saris and susis.	268·2	13·8				
Cotton tweeds and checks ..	87·3	4·5				
Other sorts ..	16·8	·9				
Total coloured goods ..	*540·2	27·6	681·5	30·2	681·6	29·0
Total ..	1,954·5	100·0	2,258·7	100·0	2,356·6	100·0

* Incomplete as returns from certain Indian States are not traceable.

† The details for coloured goods are not available.

As regards grey and bleached goods, the Tariff Board drew attention to the small extent to which Bombay participated in the trade in Dhotis and suggested that the Bombay Millowners might further exploit the possibilities of the Bengal Dhoti market. It is satisfactory to find some response to this recommendation. There has been a decided increase amounting in 1927-28 to about 60 million yards above the average for the five years 1921-22 to 1925-26, and Mr. Stones stated that there had been a remarkable advance in the production of Dhotis in the finer counts. But the output of Dhotis still remains under 15 per cent. of the total production of Bombay as opposed to about 45 per cent. of its own total production in the case of Ahmedabad. As was the case in 1925-26, most of the grey and bleached goods produced in Bombay are "shirtings and long-cloth," which constitute about one-third of the total production. There has been a considerable annual increase in their productions during the last two years, amounting to about 50 million yards over the previous maximum of 1924-25 (326·5). There have also been similar noticeable increases in the case of "Drills and Jeans," "T Cloth" and "Khadi," with the result that the total production of grey and bleached goods has increased by about 23 per cent. since 1924-25, as against a corresponding increase of 20 per cent. for the rest of India.

213. As regards coloured goods, there has been some increase of production in Bombay. In 1926-27 the output was about 37 million yards more than that of the previous maximum of 381 millions in 1924-25, but there was a fall of no less than 30 million yards in 1927-28 as compared with the previous year. This was perhaps partly due to the increasing competition from Japan in woven coloured and dyed goods, which is noticed in the report of the Senior Trade Commissioner in India and Ceylon on trade in India for 1927-28 (page 124); but it would also seem to be partly due to increasing internal competition, as all other producing centres except Ajmer-Merwara showed an increase in this class of goods in 1927-28.

GENERAL POSITION OF THE CLOTH MARKET.

214. As regards the general position of the cloth market in the two years 1926-27 and 1927-28, we think the following remarks by the Trade Commissioner at Bombay in his summaries of the more important features of the sea-borne trade of the Bombay Presidency, excluding Sind, may be usefully cited.

1926-27. "*Cotton Piecegoods.*—Importers of piecegoods for several years past have been left with relatively expensive goods on their hands owing to declining prices of the raw material and consequently of the manufactured article. With cotton prices as unstable as they were in the year under review, forward business was not to be expected; buyers operated with extreme caution and purchases were limited to immediate requirements. When at the beginning of 1927 it was realized that cotton could not go lower and was likely to go higher, good orders were placed, but Lancashire put up rates rather too quickly, with the result that by the beginning of March purchases were no longer being freely made. The rising market at the end of the year undoubtedly helped many merchants and should do much to restore confidence and facilitate future trade."

1927-28. "*Cotton Piecegoods.*—In the year 1926, the cotton piecegoods market was depressed by unstable prices and a falling market. But at the beginning of 1927 prices began to advance, and profits were made. In the year under report, a considerable advance took place in the price of raw cotton and this coupled with stable exchange and improved trade conditions in general, encouraged importers to make forward contracts. The result was that despite certain excursions and alarms such as some sensational fluctuations in the news about, and therefore in the prices of, American cotton, and serious monsoon floods in Gujarat and Kathiawar, which for a time dislocated the Bombay market imports improved by nearly 34 per cent. in quantity and by less than 16 per cent. in value. The actual volume of imports has been greater than in any year since 1921-22, except in the case of white piecegoods which arrived in larger quantities in 1924-25."

IMPORTS INTO INDIA.

215. But increased imports do not help the Bombay mills, and the following remarks in the Report of the Millowners' Association for the year 1927 appear to be well founded:

"Again, if we turn to import figures, it will be clear that the competition during the year was even keener than before, and under the circumstances it was scarcely possible to sell our own products at remunerative rates. The total imports of piecegoods of all descriptions into Bombay rose from 362 million yards in 1926 to 460 million yards in 1927 or an increase of about 27 per cent. It should be noted that imports from Japan alone rose from 82 million yards in 1926 to 115·9 million yards in 1927 or a rise of 40 per cent. Similarly, if we take combined imports from the United States, Italy and Switzerland, there was an increase of about 50 per cent. from 35·6 to 52·4 million yards. Imports of yarn also rose from 32 million pounds in 1926 to 42 million pounds in 1927 showing an increase of about 28 per cent. These figures give a clear indication of the depressed state of our industry."

216. The imports of cotton piecegoods from Japan continued to increase as will appear from the following figures:—

Imports of Japanese Piecegoods in millions of yards.

Year.	Into Bombay.	Into All-India.
1923-24	89·5	122·7
1924-25	77·4	155·3
1925-26	96·8	216·7
1926-27	78·9	243·7
1927-28	123·2	323·1
1928-29 April to January	105·4	286·6

217. The following table given at page 125 of the Senior Trade Commissioner's Report for 1927-28 further brings out how the increase in the share of Japan in the total imports of piecegoods continued to be at the expense of the United Kingdom :—

Countries of Consignment.	1913-14.	1925-26.	1926-27.	1927-28.	1928-29 (10 months)
	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
United Kingdom ..	97·1	82·3	82·0	78·2	75·7
Japan	0·3	13·9	13·6	16·3	17·8
Holland	0·8	1·1	1·1	1·0	1·0
Italy	0·7	0·6	0·8	1·2	2·2
Switzerland	0·2	0·4	0·6	0·7	0·6
Other countries ..	0·9	1·7	1·9	2·6	2·7
Total ..	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0

218. Prices of cloth have also generally dropped since 1925-26. From the statement contained in Table No. 10 appended to the Report of the Millowners' Association for 1927, it appears that they reached their low water-mark in the beginning of 1927, and with the exception of a short jump in August and September 1927, have remained below what they were in August-September 1926. On the other hand, the condition of the industry has admittedly improved since 1925-26, though this is stated to be largely due to many mills taking advantage of the sudden fall in the price of cotton at the end of 1926, which enabled them to buy cotton abnormally cheap, and gain by the subsequent rise in the cotton market.

PRICES OF CLOTH.

219. We do not think it necessary to make a similar detailed comparison in regard to yarn, as owing to the depression in the yarn trade, the main expansion in the industry in recent years has been in weaving; and we think it is sufficient to say that the position of the mills in regard to the yarn market does not appear to have appreciably improved since 1925-26, except so far as they may be given greater protection by the additional import duty which was imposed in 1927. The following remarks of the Senior Trade Commissioner in India and Ceylon at page 120 of his report for 1927-28, to which reference has already been made, may be cited in this connection :—

CONDITION OF THE YARN MARKET.

"It will be noted that the Indian mill production remained almost stationary, the increased output of counts above 20s being offset by a reduction in spinnings below 20s, which were driven off the market by imports from China, which were dumped into India at such low

prices that competition became almost impossible. It will be interesting to see whether the additional protective import duty will suffice to protect the Indian Mills against this competition after it has been enforced for a complete year."

220. The fact that the production of yarn of the Bombay mills fell considerably in 1927-28 (see paragraph 209) supports the following remarks at page 3 in the Report of the Millowners' Association for 1927 :—

"The position in the yarn market continued unsatisfactory throughout the year, the rise in the price of cotton not being followed by a proportionate rise in the prices of yarns. How serious the position has been may be judged from the fact that the number of inactive spindles went on increasing practically from month to month, and at the end of the year over a fourth of the spindles on site were idle. In spite of this, the stocks with the mills at the end of the year stood at a higher figure than at any other period during the year under report. The prices of 10s and 20s yarns which were 7 annas and 8¾ annas a pound at the end of 1926 reached their highest in the middle of September with quotations at 10½ and 12½ annas a pound. The year closed with prices at 9½ annas and 11½ annas a pound with very poor demand. For all counts of saleable yarn prices remained unremunerative more or less throughout the year."

The yarn market appears to have continued to be bad for most of 1928. Thus the Report of the Colaba Land and Mill Co., Ltd., for the year ending 31st December 1928 states that their Jehangir Wadia Mill, which was one of the only two Mills in Bombay not affected by the General Strike, remained closed from 10th February until the middle of September owing to there being no demand for yarn; but consequent on reduction of stocks it was found possible to re-open it, and it is now working full time.

IMPROVEMENT AS TO HIGHER COUNTS.

221. On the other hand it is satisfactory to see that the spinning of higher counts by the mills as recommended by the Tariff Board, is advancing as shown by the following table taken from the figures at page 551 of the Report of the Millowners' Association for 1927 :—

Year	Counts 1 to 10.	Counts 11 to 20.	Counts 21 to 30.	Counts 31 to 40.	Counts above 40.
		(In millions of pounds.)			
1925-26	56·9	116·9	79·1	5·9	2·5
1926-27	72·8	153·4	104·0	9·2	4·3
1927-28	61·7	131·0	107·5	12·3	5·0
April-November 1928* ..	40·8	20·6	17·2	3·4	1·2

* These figures were kindly supplied by the Director General of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics, Calcutta.

222. The additional duty on imported yarn thus seems to have improved the position in regard to higher counts, but the continued severity of Japanese competition is shown by the fact that, though her imports of cotton yarn into Bombay declined by 2¼ million pounds in 1926-27 and 5½ million pounds in 1927-28, owing to reduced shipments of higher counts, she still contributed 67 and 47 per cent. of this import trade during those years as shown by the following Table :—

Imports of cotton yarn into Bombay.

Countries.	1926-27.		1927-28.		1928-29 (10 months.)	
	Lbs. (000)	Per cent.	Lbs. (000)	Per cent.	Lbs. (000)	Per cent.
From Japan	18,944	67	13,379	47	4,514	26
From China (excluding Hongkong) ..	616	2	7,028	25	4,366	25
From all countries ..	28,285	100	28,627	100	17,448	100

The increase of imports from China in 1927-28 sets off the diminution of those from Japan, and it is well-known that many of the Mills in China are under Japanese control.

MILL PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNTS.

223. We now come to another aspect of this question of the state of industry. The Millowners' Association have submitted consolidated Statements of Accounts for the Bombay Cotton Mill Industry for the calendar years 1926 and 1927. These were prepared by Messrs. A. F. Ferguson & Co., Chartered Accountants; and Mr. B. J. Whitby of that firm was examined in support of them. These statements show a net loss of Rs. 13,61,575 for 1926 and a net profit of Rs. 1,68,69,129 for 1927 ; and it is contended that, if the full amount of depreciation debitable to the Mills at the rates recognised by the Income-tax Authorities is deducted, these figures will be converted into a total loss of Rs. 1,95,40,908 for 1926 and one of Rs. 7,36,309 for 1927. These consolidated Statements follow the lines of those placed before the Tariff Board by the Millowners' Association, and summarized in Appendix V of their Report. In paragraph 12 the Board referred to these Statements and considered that it was preferable for purposes of comparison to take the Statements without the proposed full deductions for depreciation but with the deductions for depreciation actually made in the Mill accounts. We think we should follow the same course, and

we give below Table VIII of the Tariff Board's Report continued to the years 1926 and 1927.

Financial Position of the Bombay Cotton Mill Industry

Year	Capital paid-up	Reserves including carry forward	Original cost of land, buildings and machinery	Land, buildings and machinery after depreciation	Annual depreciation written off
1	2	3	4	5	6
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1917 ..	7,65,67,395	2,36,35,705	17,98,21,456	12,12,46,916	85,65,934
1918 ..	8,10,45,715	3,49,59,777	19,52,73,733	12,76,21,853	87,87,908
1919 ..	9,40,10,530	3,78,77,058	20,94,82,990	12,89,11,504	1,44,39,246
1920 ..	16,98,67,485	6,53,24,223	33,50,48,254	23,70,93,186	1,63,75,066
1921 ..	17,83,11,137	9,80,94,780	38,08,54,759	26,23,30,072	1,81,78,737
1922 ..	17,96,28,996	12,44,45,090	42,94,89,978	29,54,90,301	1,38,41,139
1923 ..	19,18,62,213	13,43,11,230	46,54,95,302	31,77,81,243	75,59,745
1924 ..	19,28,15,936	12,02,68,303	46,76,48,463	31,56,45,595	42,88,809
1925 ..	19,20,96,278	10,45,82,674	46,72,00,686	31,17,58,963	31,86,932
1926 ..	18,95,57,153	8,81,15,695	45,74,05,797	29,73,14,818	39,09,523
1927 ..	18,08,33,388	8,16,97,896	44,42,77,410	28,23,66,573	69,46,162

Year	Net profit or loss	Dividend	Percentage of dividends to paid-up capital	Reserves	Provident fund	Carry forward	No. of Mills
1	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
	Rs.	Rs.		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	
1917 ..	3,02,06,860	1,69,62,045	22·2	80,96,030	1,07,893	50,40,892	63
1918 ..	2,28,07,546	1,91,95,613	23·7	38,23,022	48,692	*2,59,781*	64
1919 ..	6,15,66,648	3,77,20,074	40·1	1,00,36,873	2,06,414	46,03,287	67
1920 ..	10,10,63,174	5,98,15,856	35·2	3,18,18,035	3,02,519	91,26,764	80
1921 ..	8,46,44,605	5,34,78,623	30·0	3,32,60,455	3,37,813	*24,32,286*	80
1922 ..	3,87,51,501	2,94,44,334	16·4	1,38,03,308	63,402	*45,59,453*	80
1923 ..	33,12,933	93,69,467	4·9	*9,72,092*	....	*54,84,442*	81
1924 ..	*91,69,863*	60,84,686	3·2	*63,67,302*	....	*88,37,247*	79
1925 ..	*1,33,64,654*	43,11,006	2·2	*63,41,589*	....	*1,13,34,071*	79
1926 ..	*50,24,463*	42,84,184	2·2	*68,45,916*	....	*24,62,731*	77
1927 ..	95,06,248	61,28,636	3·4	10,90,403	....	22,87,109	75

Note.—Figures in italics indicate—

Column 7—Net loss.
,, 10—Withdrawals from reserves.
,, 12—Balance loss carried forward.

224. It will be seen that there has been an improvement in the position, and that in 1927 the industry showed a net profit instead of a loss, as in the previous three years. On the other hand the improvement is not of a very marked kind; thus the percentage of dividends to paid-up capital in 1927 is only 3·4. Messrs. Ferguson & Co. have submitted a further statement comparing the number of mills whose accounts showed a profit with those showing a loss in the three years 1925 to 1927 :—

Year	Profit.	Loss.	Total.
1925	22	57	79
1926	36	41	77
1927	58	17	75

The difference in the total number of mills in each year is due to two having gone into liquidation in 1926 and two in 1927, there being at present in all 5 mills that are not working on this account. The proportion of mills showing a profit has risen from 28 to 77 per cent. The mills will no doubt have incurred heavy losses in 1928 because of the General Strike that lasted nearly six months, but the only mill that continued working throughout the year is shown by its Company's report for 1928 to have worked at a profit.

225. The Millowners' Association contend that the figures of profit and loss for 1926 and 1927 that are given above are fallacious, and that full allowance should be made for depreciation at 5 per cent. on machinery and 2½ per cent. on buildings taken at the original cost, instead of only allowing for the depreciation actually shown in the Mill accounts. If this is done, there would be a net loss both in 1926 and 1927, as already mentioned. But in paragraph 12 at pages 21 and 22 of their Report, the Tariff Board considered that the figures relied upon by the Millowners were unduly inflated by a large flotation of 5 mills in 1920, involving a capital of 6 crores; and the over-capitalisation which the Board at page 79 of their Report held had affected nearly 30 mills in Bombay would presumably swell the amount of depreciation calculated at the said rates to a high extent. Thus at page 83 of the Report, it is stated that owing to the flotations of the boom period, the original cost of land, buildings and machinery, as shown in the Bombay Millowners' Association's Statement, increased by 60 per cent. in 1920 and 80 per cent. in 1921, as compared with the figures of 1919. The Board have no doubt in paragraph 75 of their Report expressed the view that depreciation, including any amount which may be in arrears, should be invariably regarded as a first charge on profits, and have also held that there has been lack of foresight by the Bombay Mill Industry in making consistent deductions on account of depreciation. But we think that the question of the right amount to be deducted on this account in arriving at an estimate of the condition of the industry in a particular year is so controversial that we had better not attempt to enter into it. We are merely concerned with making a rough comparison between different

DEPRECIATION ALLOWANCE.

years as to whether the industry is making a trade profit or loss, and not with a valuation of mill, buildings and machinery, or with ascertaining whether the Mill Companies made proper allowances for depreciation in drawing up their Balance Sheets, etc. It is well known that Companies sometimes " over-depreciate " in order to create concealed reserves, and " under-depreciation " in bad times may perhaps be equally justifiable ; but these are questions into which it is unnecessary for us to enter. It would clearly be a profitless task for us to examine the published Company accounts for this purpose, even though these may give more information in India than is usual in England. All that can be said is that the apparent profit of 1927 might turn out to be a loss, or even be actually wiped out, if a proper allowance were made for depreciation ; on the other hand a full enquiry might show that the property of some mills had been " over-depreciated ". Nor is it necessary for us to go into the question whether the existing system of auditing Company accounts is unsatisfactory and could be improved.

CONDITION OF COTTON INDUSTRY IN JAPAN.

226. In Japan the Cotton Textile Industry has not been without its troubles during the last few years. Thus the "*Osaka Asahi*", a well-known Japanese newspaper, in an article published in July 1928 gives the latest information we have been able to obtain on this subject as follows :—

> "Depression prevails in the cotton industry throughout the world ; and Japan is no exception, for our cotton industry has shown a gradual decrease of dividends for some years past. Our spinners have been very careful to preserve the profits accumulated during the war boom, and yet the profit of the industry has shown a declining tendency for the last few years. Only the latter half of last year showed a slight improvement over the preceding half year."

Similarly a pamphlet containing statistical information concerning cotton spinning in Japan, published by the Cotton Yarn Association, Ltd., at Manchester in August 1928, says :—

> " As was mentioned in the report on India, Japan's early trade was yarn export to China, which she captured from the Indian spinners. This reached its peak in 1915 and has since steadily declined, so that whereas in 1915 Japan exported 212 million lbs. to China (including Hong Kong), yet in 1927 Japan's total exports to the whole world were less than 44 millions. Japan was following in the steps of Lancashire and India."

227. In May 1927, the Federation of Cotton Spinners adopted a 15 per cent. curtailment of operations for six months ; and there was a further curtailment of 8 per cent. from November 15th, which was still in force when the article already referred to was written. The article also mentions that among the smaller companies, there were seven which were still reporting losses. The pamphlet further says :—

> " Japan has dealt very energetically with this decline in several ways :—
>
> Looms have been erected at an increasing rate to absorb the production of the spindles.

"Finer counts have been developed, in which trade there was less competition.

"Japanese spinning firms have obtained an ever-increasing interest in the spinning mills in China, so that they are still obtaining the bulk yarn trade, although the yarn being spun in China itself does not enter into the export figures.

"Japan has shortly to face labour conditions, and hours of working, which will reduce the advantage she at present possesses, and the constantly increasing standard of living required by the workers will no doubt be a factor which will not easily be recovered."

The last paragraph refers to the fact that, according to the convention adopted at the Washington Conference of 1919, night work for women and children is to be abolished in July 1929, and there will be a consequent loss of production. In anticipation of this, according to the article in the "*Osaka Asahi*", the mills have installed a large number of additional spindles and trained their hands to raise their efficiency. It remains to be seen what will be the effect of the abolition of night-shifts in July 1929, and it would be rash on our part to attempt any prophecy about it. It is also to be noted that the depression is mainly in the yarn trade and that the exports of cotton piecegoods to India have considerably increased during the last fifteen years, as mentioned in paragraph 216.

GENERAL CONCLUSION OF THE COMMITTEE.

228. From this short survey of the situation our general conclusion is that, while there has been some improvement in the condition of the Mill industry during the years 1926-27 and 1927-28, and the prospect is more hopeful than it was in the antecedent period, the depression in the industry is still undoubtedly prevalent. It has been accentuated by the General Strike of 1928 and the continued restlessness of the operatives. The existence of this depression was in fact not disputed by the Labour representatives before us. Thus Mr. Bakhale said they did not deny the fact that the Textile industry as a whole in the world is more or less in a depressed condition and Bombay could not be an exception to the rule.

229. If the proposed cut in weavers' wages is otherwise fair and reasonable, we think the state of the industry supports this method of obtaining a decrease in the costs of production. On the other hand it cannot, in our opinion, be said to be shown that the state of the industry imperatively demands the anticipated annual saving of about fourteen lakhs of rupees by this method.

230. Coming to the specific merits of the proposal, there are two main contentions on which it really rests, *viz.* :—

(1) The weaver gets too high a wage in relation to his extra skill over that of a spinner, and

(2) there has been a fall in the cost of living since 1920, when the present wages were fixed.

WHETHER WAGE-CUT JUSTIFIED BY FALL IN COST OF LIVING.

231. The second of these is a consideration, which might of course justify a general wage-cut instead of one merely affecting the weavers. The latter can very well urge, as Mr. N. M. Joshi did in the opening discussion, that there is not sufficient ground for his

being called upon to agree to a wage-reduction, especially if no other section of the operatives is to benefit by his self-sacrifice. This is a consideration of some relevancy. Thus Mr. William Graham, the well-known Labour M. P., in his book "The Wages of Labour" (1924) at page 86 says :—

> "It may be recalled, however, that towards the end of last century sacrifices were made by certain workers in highly-paid districts in order to secure a general minimum which would protect their less favoured brethren elsewhere. In order to secure a satisfactory piece-work list, which meant for the majority of their members an increase in remuneration, cotton-weavers in several areas consented to reduction of wages. No doubt, as in the case of the flint glass makers, there were temporary protests, but when the workmen understood the value of uniformity of rate they were practically always willing to make sacrifices in the interests of their membership as a whole."

This passage would apply to those weavers, who at present draw higher wages than the majority of their class, consenting to a reduction of their earnings under the Standardisation Scheme, "in order to secure a general minimum which would protect their less favoured brethren". But it would not properly apply to them if they are called on to have a wage-cut, which affects them all and will not benefit any other workers.

232. Leaving this aside for the present, we next consider the extent of the fall in the cost of living, compared with the weavers' wages. It is undoubtedly true that a comparison with the conditions of 1914 shows a rise in the weaver's wage which is much higher than that of the existing cost of living, so far as this is indicated by the Bombay Labour Office Cost of Living index numbers. Thus, according to the figures given in Appendix J to the Written Statement of the Millowners' Association, which are based on the figures of wages in Exhibit 1 of our proceedings and are taken from the muster of a representative mill, the weaver's wage had in 1921 risen to 217 (taking 100 as the basic wage in 1914), whereas the cost-of living index had risen only to an average of 173 and now is about 145. But such a comparison can only be accepted subject to several qualifications. First of all, as stated by the Tariff Board at page 114 of their Report, the cost of living index has admittedly not been compiled on an altogether satisfactory basis, and the weight to be attached to the comparison is thereby lessened. Secondly, there is ground for believing that there was a "lag" of wages behind prices for a considerable period prior to 1920. Thus the Tariff Board (page 114) say that the Report of the Committee on Prices in 1912 shows that there is reason to believe that wages in the cotton mill industry in Bombay, in the period immediately preceding the war, had not adjusted themselves to the general rise in prices throughout the country, so that the increase in wages, which has occurred since then, must be discounted to that extent. It was also admitted by Mr. Saklatvala that in 1918 and 1919 the weavers were not getting a wage fully commensurate with the then high cost of living. Thus according to the figures given by the Millowners' Association, the weaver's wage in 1919 was represented only by 145, as compared with

a rise in the cost of living to 175. And thirdly we cannot overlook the fact that, whatever advantage in real wages the worker may be having during a time of falling prices, his standard of living cannot be safely affirmed to be the same as it was fifteen years ago, so as to enable us to say that, even assuming for the sake of argument that prices recede to the level of 1914, a reduction of wages to the same level would be justifiable. As the Tariff Board point out on page 114 of their Report, there are objections to taking the cost of living index number as the factor determining the level of wages, as this would result in a stereotyped standard of comfort of the wage earner for all time. This objection is accentuated in a case where the wages have remained on the same level for nearly eight years, as they have done in the case of these weavers. During that period their standard of living has had ample time to rise from what it used to be, especially as the fall in the cost of living (according to the Labour Office index) has remained substantially on the present level (with some minor variations) since the beginning of 1923. Thus the average percentage increase over July 1914, as given on page 410 of the *Labour Gazette* of January 1929, has been 1923, 54 ; 1924, 57 ; 1925, 55 ; 1926, 55 ; 1927, 54 ; 1928, 47. For January 1929 it is given as 49. Any cut of this kind would, as the Tariff Board point out in paragraph 59 of their Report, have come better in 1923 or 1924 than now. The cut of 15½ per cent. which was made in Ahmedabad in June 1923 is relied upon by the Millowners' Association, as an example of what should have been done in Bombay ; but the Labour representatives reply that the rise in wages had been higher in Ahmedabad than in Bombay, so that, though this cut might be right in Ahmedabad, it would not be equally justifiable in Bombay. This contention is supported by the figures given in the Table at page 20 of the Labour Office Report on the Wages Enquiry of 1921. The percentage increase of the wages of all work-people in Ahmedabad over their wages in 1914 is there given as 122, as compared with one of 87 for Bombay, so that the real wages were 21 per cent. higher in Ahmedabad than in Bombay. A cut of 15½ per cent. therefore left the percentage increase in Ahmedabad still about 30 per cent. above that of Bombay, as shown in the Table LXVI on page 111 of the Tariff Board Report.

233. On the other hand it does appear to be true that the weaver's wages have risen in a higher proportion than those of other mill-operatives. No doubt the statement in Appendix J to the Association's Written Statement shows that the percentage increase of a weaver's wage (*viz.*, 117) is not as high as that (*viz.*, 137) of a Card-room Tenter, whose average wages (according to the statement in Exhibit 1 in our proceedings) have risen from Rs. 11-8-0 in 1913 to Rs. 27-4-0 in 1923. But it appears that the figures in Exhibit 1 cannot be treated as really representative. A comparison of the wages for 1923 given in Exhibit 1 with those ascertained in the 1923 and 1926 Enquiries shows that they are generally higher than the average wages reported in the Labour Office Enquiries. Thus, according to the 1926 Enquiry, the average wages for a Card Tenter working 26 days come to Rs. 22-8-0 instead of Rs. 27-4-0. It would have been better if the Association had drawn up a fresh chart and statement based on the Enquiry of 1926,

rather than on the figures of any one Mill. We do not, therefore, believe that the percentage rise in the case of a Card Tenter has been as high as that of a weaver; on the basis of the 1926 Enquiry it would be about 100 instead of 137. The figures for the other operatives given in Appendix J would also have to be slightly reduced on the basis of the same Enquiry below their present figures, which range from 93 to 107, except in the case of winders, whose lower percentage rise of 70 per cent. is explained by the fact that they are almost entirely women. The weaver's percentage rise of 117 would, however, stand, as his wages in the Statement in Exhibit 1 agree with the average wages reported in the 1926 Enquiry. Consequently the rise in his case appears to have been on the whole at least 10 per cent. higher than in the case of other male operatives. It can, therefore, be urged that a reduction of 7½ per cent. in his wages is justifiable.

WHETHER WAGE-CUT JUSTIFIED BY DISPARITY OF WAGES.

234. The other argument in favour of the wage-cut, *viz.*, the disparity in the wages of weavers and spinners, is one that has the support of the remarks made by the Tariff Board, which we have already cited. They point out (p. 137) that in Japan the average wages of spinners and weavers do not vary much, and that in 1925 the average wage for all operatives in the Spinning Department was a little higher than that in the Weaving Department. This comparison is based on the figures taken from Mr. W. B. Cunningham's "Report on the Cotton Spinning and Weaving Industry in Japan, 1925-26", which are reproduced in Table LXX (p. 115) of the Tariff Board Report. The very large employment of women in Japan must, however, be borne in mind in this connection. The figures given by Mr. Cunningham at pages 52, 53 and 58 of his Report show that this employment of women is more pronounced in the Weaving than in the Spinning Department, the ratio of men to women being about 1 : 5 in the former, as against 1 : 3 in the latter. In Bombay the practice is quite the reverse; the weavers are all males and there is only a small proportion of women among the spinners. Thus in the 1926 Wages Enquiry it was found that, in the 19 representative mills for which statistics were collected, the number of siders were 5,244 males and 636 females, a ratio of over 8 : 1. Mr. Cunningham further says (page 56), "The great difficulty has always been the comparatively short length of time the women operatives remain in the mill. The majority of the girls take up the work as a means of obtaining a supply of money before marriage, and the average length of time spent in a mill is seldom more than two or, at the outside, three years. * * * * It is said to take at least three months for a new hand to attain average proficiency, so that it is obvious that mills which can retain their hands for eighteen months or longer have a great advantage over those where the majority of the operatives leave just when they are becoming proficient in their work." This was borne out by Mr. Sasakura in his evidence before us and affords a possible explanation of the approximate equality in the wages of spinners and weavers in Japan. The fact of the large majority of weavers being females would also tend to keep

down the average wages in the case of males also. The case of Japan is thus on a somewhat different footing to that of Bombay.

235. The disparity in Japan also seems to be lower than it is in most countries. Thus there is a table of rates of wages and actual earnings in the Cotton Textile Industry in different countries at page 119 of the U. S. A. Monthly "Labour Review" for June 1927, which gives some useful statistics for comparing the wages of weavers and spinners in various countries. The relevant figures are as follows :—

Country.	Period.	Rate of wages or average actual earnings per 48-hour week in dollars.		Percentage difference of Weavers' as compared with Spinners' wages (higher +, lower −).
		Weavers.	Spinners.	
Austria ..	June 1925 to March 1926 ..	4·50	5·76	−21·87
Belgium	September 1926 ..	5·04	(Mule) 4·80	+5·00
			(Ring) 2·70 to 3·70	+86·66 +36·22
Canada	1925 ..	15·36	14·16	+8·47
Netherlands	1924	(White) 9·23 (Blanket) 9·56 (Colour) 9·56	10·49	−12·01 −8·86 −8·86
Poland	March 1926 ..	4·02	4·47	−10·07
Great Britain ..	August 1926 ..	8·05	7·66	+5·09
Italy	....	(Male) 5·02 (Female) 3·52	(Ring) 3·91	+28·39 −9·97
U. S. A.	1926 ..	(Male) 19·01 (Female) 18·00	(Male) 13·87 (Female) 13·54	+37·06 +32·94

This shows that there is a disparity in favour of the weaver in Belgium, Canada, Great Britain, Italy and the United States of America. It ranges from 5 per cent. in Great Britain to 87 per cent. in Belgium, though the latter percentage is so high as to suggest that there is some special reason for it. The lower wages of weavers in Austria and Netherlands are perhaps due to the weavers there being mainly females.

236. Next we may refer to the statistics regarding the wages of spinners and weavers contained in Table I at pages 4 to 6 of the U. S. A. Labour Bureau Bulletin No. 446 entitled "Wages and Hours of Labor

in Cotton Goods manufacturing, 1910 to 1926." The following Table is based on the figures there given :—

Year.	Average full time earnings per week in dollars.		Percentage difference of Weavers' as compared with Spinners' wage (higher +, lower —).	Average full time earnings per week in dollars		Percentage difference of Weavers' as compared with Spinners' wage (higher +, lower —).
	Weavers (Male).	Spinners (Male).		Weavers (Female)	Spinners (Female)	
1910	8·83	6·83	+29·28	8·47	6·33	+33·81
1911	9·08	7·18	+26·46	8·54	6·51	+31·18
1912	9·67	8·14	+18·79	9·26	6·98	+32·66
1913	9·73	8·07	+20·57	9·30	7·33	+26·88
1914	9·93	8·19	+21·24	9·30	7·45	+24·83
1916	11·54	9·21	+25·30	11·12	8·24	+34·96
1918	16·78	13·48	+24·48	15·62	12·89	+21·18
1920	20·68	24·08	+23·25	26·56	22·12	+20·07
1922	20·44	15·59	+31·11	19·59	15·83	+23·75
1924	23·71	19·63	+20·78	22·22	16·94	+31·17
1926	21·07	15·92	+32·35	19·46	15·09	+28·96
	Total	average ..	+24·87	Total	average ..	+28·13

The above shows a percentage increase in favour of the weaver averaging about 25 per cent. in the case of males and about 28 per cent. in the case of females. This corresponds very closely to the similar percentage increase of 28·96 in favour of the female weaver shown by the figures of the wages in 151 cotton mills in the United States for a week within the period from June to October 1926, which are reproduced at page 889 of the *Labour Gazette* for June 1927. Those figures show the average full time earnings per week for a female Ring-frame spinner to be 15·09 dollars and those of a female weaver to be 19·46 dollars, giving the percentage increase already mentioned. There are also statistics of the wages of spinners and weavers in 13 mills in Canada, which are given at pages 37 and 38 of the Canadian Labour Department Report No. 11, entitled "Wages and Hours of

Labour in Canada, 1920 to 1927." The following table is based on the figures given there :—

Specified No. of the factory.	Wages per week in dollars in 1927.*		Percentage difference of weavers' as compared with spinners' wage (higher +, lower—).
	Weavers (both sexes).	Spinners (females).	
No. 2	·29½†	·25½†	+15·69
„ 3	·39†	·23½†	+65·96
„ 4	17·35	12·75	+36·08
„ 5	24·00	15·50	+54·84
„ 6	20·00	10·00	+100·00
„ 7	16·25	13·50	+20·37
„ 8	·33†	·22¾†	+45·05
„ 9	15·60	13·10	+19·08
„ 10	·34†	·21½†	+58·14
„ 11	15·00	13·50‡	+11·11
„ 13	25·00	14·70	+70·07
Total average ..	....	....	45·13

* The wage statistics of only those specified factories, which work for the same number of hours in both the spinning and weaving sections have been used for calculating percentages of difference between spinners' and weavers' wages.

† Wages per hour.

‡ Converted to wages per week from wages per hour.

The above shows an average percentage difference between the wages of female Ring-frame Spinners and those of weavers of both sexes amounting to 45, and there are four cases where the percentage rises were over 50, *viz.*, 55, 58, 66, and 70. We realise that such figures must be regarded with caution ; but at the same time we think that there is good ground for saying that a weaver often receives higher wages than a spinner. We do not therefore quite agree with the statement of the Tariff Board (page 137) that the disparity in Bombay is " entirely contrary to the practice in other countries where the wages of spinners and weavers are practically the same." It appears to us that there are several countries, where a considerable disparity exists.

OPINION OF THE COMMITTEE.

237. Such a disparity seems to be consonant with the fact, which was deposed to by many witnesses and was common ground between the parties, that a weaver's work requires considerably more skill than that of a spinner. In the course of the discussion Mr. Saklatvala said he considered that a weaver should get about 30 or 40 per cent. more than a spinner, and Mr. Neville Hunt in his evidence gave even a higher estimate, *viz.*, 50 per cent. According to the 1926 Enquiry, a two-loom weaver got an average daily wage of Rs. 1-13-4 as against one of Rs. 1-0-3 for a Ring-sider, *i.e.*, he got about 80 per cent. more. This is certainly higher than the percentage increase that usually

exists in most countries, and can therefore undoubtedly be said to be excessive. At the same time it is not as high as the corresponding percentage in Ahmedabad and Sholapur, according to the following figures, which by the kindness of the Director of the Labour Office have been furnished to us provisionally from the statistics collected in an Enquiry of 1926 into the wages of cotton mill workers at Ahmedabad and in a similar Enquiry into those at Sholapur for the same year :—

Average earnings of two-loom weavers.

	Full time workers.			All workers.			
	Number of workers.	Average daily earnings.	Average monthly earnings.	Number of workers.	Average daily earnings.	Average number of days worked.	Average monthly earnings.
		Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.		Rs. a. p.		Rs. a. p.
Sholapur ..	231	1 9 8	42 1 3	993	1 8 11	22·49	35 0 8
			43 6 6*				36 3 7*
Ahmedabad†	1,786	1 13 5	44 2 6	4,531	1 13 3	19·69	35 15 2

* Inclusive of the value of the " grain allowance."

† The data refers to two " haptas " of 24 days only, whereas in the case of Sholapur, the maximum number of working days covered is 27.

Average earnings of Spinners.

Centre.	Full time workers.			All workers.			
	Number of workers.	Average daily earnings.	Average monthly earnings.	Number of workers.	Average daily earnings.	Average number of days worked.	Average monthly earnings.
		Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.		Rs. a. p.		Rs. a. p.
Sholapur ..	209	0 10 9	17 15 11	482	0 10 4	23·92	15 8 2
			19 10 9*				17 0 8*
Ahmedabad†	745	0 15 2	26 0 7	1,647	0 15 2	24·27	22 15 2
	17	1 6 10	40 0 0	20	1 6 10	25·95	37 0 8

* Inclusive of the value of the " grain allowance."

† The wages period is 28 days. The figures in the first line refer to " siders " working one side of the Ring-frame and those in the second line refer to those minding 2 sides.

Taking the average daily earnings of a Spinner in Sholapur and Ahmedabad to be Rs. 0-10-4 and Rs. 0-15-2 and those of a weaver to be Rs. 1-8-11 and Rs. 1-13-3 respectively, the percentage increase in the wages of the weaver over those of the spinner comes to 141 for Sholapur and 93 for Ahmedabad. Similarly if the respective wages at Cawnpore, Delhi, Nagpur and Madras, which are given in Table LXVII at page 113 of the Tariff Board Report, are compared, they will be found to give corresponding percentages of 108, 75, 71 and 91. Consequently there is basis for saying that the extent of the disparity in Bombay is not exceptional in India and it is even higher in some other places.

CONFLICTING ARGUMENTS.

238. The result is that there are arguments that can, we think, be reasonably urged both for and against the proposal that there should be a 7½ per cent. reduction in the average monthly wages of the two-loom weaver. On the one hand, the continued depression of the industry, the fact of the rise in a weaver's wages over pre-war rates being higher than that of most, if not all, other operatives, and the unusually high disparity between his wages and those of a spinner, can be urged as a justification for the proposal. On the other side it can be contended that the increase in his real wages is not so great as is asserted, that the disparity, though high, is justified by the extra skill and labour involved in his work over those of a spinner, that the depression in the industry is not so bad as to necessitate recourse to such a step and that it is unfair to single out the weavers for such a cut, especially as their wages have remained on the same level for nearly 8 years, and there has not been any high drop in prices since the beginning of 1923. The weavers can also reasonably object to any substantial lowering of their present standard of living, although on the other hand it can be urged that the cut which is only 7½ per cent, *i.e.*, about Rs. 3-8-0 a month, will not appreciably affect it. The objection to any decrease is, however, natural and they undoubtedly have a strong feeling against such a cut, as various strikes have shown. This would not of course be a cogent argument if they had no reasonable ground for objecting to the cut; but having regard to the conflicting considerations mentioned above, we cannot properly say that this is the case. On the other hand, there is a good deal to be said for the proposal, and we are satisfied that the Millowners acted *bona fide* in making it. In their letter of 10th January 1928 to the Collector of Bombay, about various recommendations of the Tariff Board which is Appendix Y to the Association's written statement, the Committee of the Association express the opinion that "the complete removal of the disparity (between the wages of weavers and spinners) is not a practical proposition at the moment" and that "the complete solution of the problem would need more drastic measures than are at present contemplated"; but the Second Report of the Standardisation Sub-Committee drew attention to this disparity and said "an attempt must therefore be made to bring up the wages where they appear to be too low; whereas in cases where without any particular reason abnormally high wages are paid owing to past practice they must be brought down." Out of this arose the proposal for a cut of 11 per cent. in the weavers' wages, which was subsequently reduced to one for a cut of 7½ per cent.

CONCLUSION OF COMMITTEE AS TO WAGE-CUT.

239. On the whole we are of opinion that the weight of arguments is in favour of the proposed wage-cut being justifiable, but we think there is an over-riding consideration against the Millowners' Association pressing the proposal any further. This is the necessity for the full co-operation of the Labour leaders in working the new Standardisation Scheme, which has already been stressed in Chapter IV. Without such co-operation, it will be difficult, if not impossible, to introduce the scheme or revise it after a short period of trial, as contemplated. The

agreement recently arrived at about most parts of the Scheme and about the constitution of the Joint Committee is a step forward of a satisfactory kind. It will be disappointing if the prospect of future co-operation in introducing and working the Scheme is blighted by conflict over this question of a wage-cut, and we think the Association should agree to drop it, if the Labour leaders in their turn undertake to give real co-operation in trying to make the Standardisation Scheme work properly. We do not of course mean that they should thereby bind themselves to agree to everything that may be proposed by the Mill representatives; what we have in mind is co-operation in the same manner as Trade Unions have co-operated in working the "Uniform-Lists" in Lancashire, such as is described at pages 160 to 162 of the Board of Trade (Labour Dept.) publication on Collective Agreements, which has already been cited. If this object is attained, we think the industry should benefit much more than by the annual saving that it is expected to get from the wage-cut. It is not as if the Millowners will get no saving from the adoption of the Standardization Scheme; on the contrary the evidence before us showed that many mills would make some savings by reduction in the number of employees, etc., but there is a still stronger consideration. It may be a platitude to say that what is more likely to help to put the industry on its feet again is "Industrial Peace", but we think it is none the less true and important for all that. Accordingly, we are of opinion that although there is justification for the proposed cut, under present circumstances it would be in the interests of both parties for it to be dropped, on the understanding about Labour co-operation that we have mentioned. We are encouraged to think that such co-operation may be obtained in view of the opinion which Mr. Bakhale on behalf of the Joint Strike Committee expressed in the course of his summing up on the 13th February 1929 that, if the cut is removed, and if the Standardisation Scheme is based upon the average wages obtaining at the present time in Bombay, those who have influence with the workers would do their level best to have the principle of standardisation accepted and persuade the workers not to go on strike, as far as possible. We were informed by the Millowners' Association that they propose to introduce the Scheme in October next; and it is to be hoped that the Labour leaders will meanwhile try to explain the main points of the Scheme to the workers and to persuade them to give it at any rate a trial before rushing into hostilities. The Scheme will of course result in some workers getting less than they do at present. On the other hand some others will benefit; and if the value of uniformity of rates of wages is properly explained to the workers, it should result in acceptance of lower rates by those affected for the benefit of the operatives as a whole, just as happened in the case of the English weavers mentioned in paragraph 231.

CHAPTER VI.

THE MILLOWNERS' STANDARDISATION SCHEME.

GENERAL.

240. Before dealing in detail with the Standardisation Scheme, we think it desirable for its better understanding by readers, who are not familiar with the subject, to give a short description of the ordinary work of a mill in Bombay which makes cloth from cotton. The work may be divided into two main branches, *viz.*, (1) spinning, *i.e.*, making yarn from cotton, and (2) weaving, *i.e.*, making cloth from yarn. Some mills also do dyeing and bleaching work, but our inquiry is not concerned with that.

MEASURES.

241. The description may begin with that of the measures commonly employed. Cotton is measured by the pound in weight. Yarn is measured by the pound in weight, or by the hank in length, each hank being 840 yards. Its fineness is measured in counts, the number of hanks in a pound being the counts of yarn. Thus 20 counts yarn, or 20's yarn, or 20's is yarn 20 hanks of which weigh a pound. The higher the count, the finer the yarn. The fineness of roving, *i.e.*, yarn before it is fully drawn and twisted, is denoted by the word "hank" instead of "count"; thus ·5 hank roving means roving ·5 (*i.e.*, a half) hank of which or 420 yards weighs a pound. Cloth is measured either by the pound in weight or by the yard in length (the width being known), or by the square yard in area derived from the width and length.

GODOWN.

242. Cotton when picked from the pod contains both seeds and fibres. The fibres are separated from the seeds by ginning machines, and pressed hard into bales of about 400 pounds each in presses, usually near the ginning centre. The bales are brought into Bombay, and each mill keeps a sufficient supply of them stacked in a godown within the mill compound. The workmen who stack the bales are called Bale-stackers.

MIXING ROOM.

243. The bales as wanted are taken from the godown to the mixing room by workmen called Navganis. If the godown is at a distance, they are sometimes carried in a trolly running on rails. The Navganis usually open up the bales removing the iron hoops with which they are fastened. The cotton is then put on to a machine called Bale Breaker by the man in charge of it. The chief function of this machine is to break up the hard lumps, into which the cotton has been pressed, and reduce it to its original soft condition. From the Bale Breaker the cotton is carried to the mixing bins usually automatically along travelling frames called lattices. The mixing bins are parts of the mixing room where cotton is kept for a short time and mixed. This is effected by laying out in horizontal layers over one another the cotton from different bales as it comes from

the Bale Breaker, and taking for the next process quantities vertically from the mass, so that each lot is a mixture of cotton from different bales. The object of this is to make all the cotton dealt with as uniform as possible, for the cotton varies in different bales even from the same locality. The men who work at the mixing process are called Mixing Spreaders. From the mixing bins the cotton is put by workmen on to machines called Hopper Feeders or Lattice Feeders: in the former the cotton is put into a hopper, a sort of trough or box, and in the latter on to a lattice. In both cases the machine tends to open out the cotton fibres. From these machines the cotton is taken usually automatically through pipes called trunks by the pneumatic action of fans to the Blow Room.

BLOW ROOM.

244. In the Blow Room the cotton is subjected to further opening and scutching. The object of these processes is to remove impurities which are found in all cottons, such as sand, leaf, seed, stalk, dust, motes, etc., to beat or scutch the cotton into a fleecy condition, and to form the loose cotton into a compact and uniform sheet rolled up into a lap. For this purpose the cotton is first led automatically through a series of machines called Openers which are variously arranged, the final result being the first lap. A series common in Bombay consists of a Porcupine Opener (or Lattice Feeder), Brighton Vertical Opener, and Exhaust Opener, combined with Breaker Scutcher. The first lap from this series is removed by hand and put on the Intermediate Scutcher; four such laps are put on it and scutched together into another sheet of the same width. The object of this is not merely to clean and open the cotton, but also to make the lap more uniform by the mixing of the four original laps, so that the same length and breadth throughout may have the same weight and quality. The same process is repeated on the Finisher Scutcher, four laps from the Intermediate being put on it by hand and scutched together. Commonly one opener series supplies two Intermediates and two Finishers. In the majority of mills in Bombay one man attends to each opener series and each Intermediate and Finisher Scutcher. The final laps from the Finisher, weighing about 30 pounds each, are taken by hand to the weighing clerk in the same room, and when found of the proper weight are carried by men called Lap Carriers to the Card Room.

CARD ROOM.

245. The Card Room contains the carding machines or cards. Their principal function is to isolate the fibres one from the other and straighten them out, by a combing process by passing the cotton between a cylinder bearing a very large number of fine wires like the teeth of a comb, and a number of flat pieces bearing similar teeth placed close to the cylinder. The final result is a long strand of cotton about an inch in diameter called a sliver, which is deposited in a can. The men who attend to the cards are called Card-tenters or Can-boys. The cylinder and other parts of the machine, after working for a certain time, become full of fluff, and it has to be stripped off once in about two hours by men called Strippers.

The teeth also get worn and have to be reground about twice a month by men called Grinders. The wires on the flat pieces have also to be reground periodically by Flat Grinders.

DRAWING FRAMES.

246. The cans from the cards are taken to the Drawing Frames by the Can-boys if they are near, and by other carriers if they are at a distance. In these Drawing Frames, the slivers are passed between pairs of rollers, usually four, the front delivery rollers revolving faster than the back receiving rollers, so that the sliver is drawn out or elongated. The amount of elongation is called the draft, being usually 6 to 8, so that the resulting sliver is 6 to 8 times longer and thinner than the original. Usually six cans from the cards are put together behind one set of rollers, and the six resulting thin slivers are put together as one in one can in front. The object is to make the slivers as uniform as possible as well as to straighten out the fibres and make them parallel. Usually there are seven such sets of rollers in one frame called a head resulting in seven deliveries. Exactly the same process is repeated in two more frames or heads, so that each of the original slivers is elongated $6 \times 6 \times 6$, or 216 times, and combined with the same number of other slivers, resulting in a sliver of about the same thickness but much more uniform. In the majority of mills in Bombay, one operator called Drawing Tenter attends to each head or frame.

SPEED FRAMES.

247. The sliver next passes through what are called the Speed Frames. Their function is to elongate it gradually, giving it at the same time a certain amount of twist, so that it may be strong enough to undergo the process of drawing, but not too strong to resist the final drawing into yarn. At this stage it is called roving. There are commonly three such frames, Slubbing, Intermediate and Roving. The elongation is effected in the same way as in the Drawing Frame by passing the roving between pairs of rollers, but there is an additional arrangement for twisting it when delivered. For Slubbing, the sliver is taken from the cans placed on one side of the frame, and eventually wound round bobbins revolving on spindles on the other side of the frame, there being usually 84 to 96 such spindles. The bobbins when full are transferred to a frame called a Creel on one side of the Intermediate Frame, and the roving received on similar bobbins on spindles about 124 on the other side. Thence they are transferred to the creel on one side of the Roving Frame and the roving received on bobbins on the other side about 160 in number. In the majority of Bombay mills, one man called the Tenter usually attends to each of these frames. His chief business is to see that the roving passes evenly through, and if any strand breaks, to piece together the parts immediately. When the bobbins are full the machine is stopped and they are all removed together or doffed and empty ones put in their places by boys or men called Doffer Boys who work in teams going from machine to machine as wanted. The object in keeping a number of doffers is that the stoppage of each machine may be as short as possible.

Each Slubbing machine is usually fed by 7 to 10 cards, and it feeds about two Intermediate and Roving machines, and the whole series is called a Preparation.

248. From the Speed Frames the roving goes to the Ring Frames or to the Mules to be spun into yarn. So far as elongation or drawing is concerned, the ring frame works in the same way as the speed frames, but the arrangement for giving the twist, which is much greater in this case, is different, and depends on the action of a bent piece of steel called the 'traveller' revolving on a fixed ring. Further, in this case the creel is at the top of the frame, and the receiving bobbins are arranged on spindles on both sides of the frame being 150 to 200 on each side. In the majority of Bombay mills each side of this machine is attended by a tenter called sider or side-boy, whose chief work is to see that the roving passes safely through and to piece together broken ends at once. There are also teams of doffers as in the case of the speed frames, and in addition in most mills men called Tarvalas or followers, whose business is, after the doffers have put the empty bobbins on the spindles, to make the proper connections of the yarn and put everything in order for immediate running. In a few mills there are no Tarvalas, the whole work being done by the doffers.

RING FRAMES.

249. Part of the machinery of these frames is driven by cotton bands, and men called Banders repair these bands when they break. Some of the rollers in the speed frames as well as ring frames have leather covers which have to be renewed from time to time, and this work is done by the roller-coverers. The fineness of the yarn has to be tested and wrapping boys carry samples of it from the frames to the wrapping clerk, who measures out a certain length on a wrapping machine and weighs it to determine its count.

WRAPPING.

250. In the case of Mules the spindles instead of being on a fixed frame are on a carriage which moves to and from the creel. There are now very few Mules in Bombay, and there is no dispute about the wages of the operatives who work on them.

MULES.

251. Each of the departments, the Blow-room, Card-room, Speed frames, Ring frames, Mules, has a head Jobber and assistant Jobbers to supervise the operatives. Each department has also mechanics called Line-levellers to overhaul each machine periodically, open it, clean and repair and rearrange it. Each has also oilers to oil the machines, coolies to carry material when it has to be taken some distance, and sweepers to sweep. Some of them have also fitters to carry out immediately small repairs, the heavier work of this sort being done in the workshop attached to each mill. Carpenters are kept to do wood work wherever necessary, and similarly Mochies for leather-work and rope-splicers when ropes are used for driving machinery.

JOBBERS, LINE-LEVELLERS, ETC.

252. Besides the chief operations and operatives for spinning described above, there are certain minor ones. The cotton that clings to Bardans (the wrappers of bales) is picked by hand by Bardan-pickers and duly utilised. The mixture of cotton and foreign matter that drops to the bottom in the openers and scutchers of the Blow-room is swept up and carried by dropping carriers to the Willow-room. The Willow is a machine which separates the cotton in the droppings from the foreign matters, and the resulting inferior cotton is used in various ways; this machine is worked by the Willow-men. The cotton that falls to the bottom or clings to the machinery of the cards called Fly is collected by the Fly-gatherers and taken to the Willow-room. In the frames when the roving or yarn breaks, it sometimes gets wrapped round the rollers, and it is the business of the Bonda or thread-extractor to remove this from the rollers. Such roving or yarn is untwisted, sometimes by hand, sometimes by machinery and reconverted into cotton; the machine which deals with the strongly twisted yarn is the Hard Waste Breaker, and that which deals with the softer roving is the Roving end Breaker.

MINOR OPERATIONS. WASTE.

253. Some mills have special plant for making coarse yarn from waste cotton, which may be sold as yarn or utilised in weaving some of the coarser cloths. This plant is of a different type from that for the good cotton, but its work proceeds by the similar stages of scutching, carding and spinning.

WASTE SPINNING.

254. The whole of the yarn of a purely spinning mill, and part of the yarn spun in a mill which also does weaving, is reeled into hanks or skeins. This is done for the local sale or export of the yarn, or for dyeing, the loose hank having been considered up to lately the best form in which the yarn could be coloured; the coloured yarn may be subsequently used in the same mill for weaving. The reeling is done mostly by women, the yarn being wrapped round a light revolving frame called Swift from the bobbins brought from the spinning room and placed suitably before it, and removed from the frame when the proper length has been wrapped. The skeins or hanks are tied into bundles of five to ten pounds, and packed in bales for export. This gives employment to a number of workmen called respectively Weighers, Knotters, Bundlers, Wrappers, Balers, Labellers, Number Markers, Hoop Cutters, Bale-stackers and coolies. Latterly there has been a great diminution in reeling and the subsequent operations in Bombay owing to the loss of the export trade in yarn to China and other parts of the Far East. Recently also yarn instead of being dyed in the form of hanks has begun to be dyed in other forms, such as large cylinders called cheeses, or large cones.

REELING.

255. The subsequent operations come under the main head of Weaving, some of them preceding actual weaving and some following. Cloth is formed by two sets of threads, one set called warp passing lengthwise from end to end, and

WEAVING IN GENERAL.

the other called weft crossing the warp at right angles and intersecting it in various ways constituting different patterns of cloth. Each thread of the warp is called end, and of the weft pick. The yarn for warp has to be stronger than that for weft and is twisted more and called twist. In the spinning department certain frames are adjusted for spinning twist and certain for weft and called respectively twist frames and weft frames. The warp, which may be hundreds of yards long, is put at the back of the loom rolled round a weaver's beam, the threads being arranged exactly side by side. The weft comes from a bobbin or pirn enclosed in a shuttle, which is plied from side to side of the loom across the warp laying a pick at each crossing. The warp yarn before being brought to the loom has to undergo the processes of winding, warping, sizing and drawing-in. The weft sometimes undergoes the process of winding. Both warp and weft might also have undergone dyeing.

WINDING.

256. Winding consists in transferring yarn from one form of package to another on various machines for various purposes, and this work is usually done by women in Bombay. One of the main purposes is to transfer grey twist yarn from ring-frame bobbins, which are small, to warper's bobbins, which are larger. This is commonly done on the Spindle winder, ten or more spindles each bearing a warper's bobbin being assigned to each worker. Besides putting on the full ring-bobbins and removing the empty ones and *vice versa* for the warper's bobbins, the worker's chief business is to see that the yarn passes smoothly from one to the other and if there are any breaks to knot together the ends at once. Sometimes an instrument called knotter is given to the worker for knotting, but most of the work is done by hand. Mule cops, *i.e.*, packages of yarn spun on mules consisting wholly of yarn without any supporting axis of wood, are treated by the same machine. This is the kind of winding referred to at page 3 of the Millowners' List of Standardised Rates of Wages for the Weaving Section. Recently other machines which work more rapidly like No. 60 G. F. Universal Winder, etc., have been introduced in some mills for the same purpose. Latterly also in a few mills high-speed warping has been introduced, the warper's bobbins being replaced by the larger cheeses and cones; these latter are formed by means of the machines referred to at page 7 of the above-said List, the same forms being also employed for dyeing. It may be noted here that the lift of a bobbin or other package is the length of the space covered on it by the yarn; the larger the lift, the more the yarn, the longer the interval at which it would have to be replaced, less time lost in stoppages, and less trouble to the worker.

GREY WINDING.

UNIVERSAL WINDING.

GREY WEFT WINDING.

257. A weft ring bobbin or mule cop as it comes from the ring frame or mule may be placed in a shuttle for working on the loom. But to increase the quantity so as to save time of stoppage and trouble, the weft yarn is often removed on to a larger pirn on a machine called Pirn Winder. This is the kind of winding referred to at page 5 of the above-said List.

258. When coloured yarn is used either for warp or weft, various other modes of winding have to be employed. First the yarn has to be wound into a suitable form for dyeing. As has been stated above in connection with reeling, the ordinary form for dyeing used to be till lately the hank, but recently the cheese and cone have been introduced. The hank form is given by reeling and the cheese or cone by No. 50 and No. 160 Leesona or similar types of machine, which are referred to at page 7 of the above-said List. Next the coloured yarn has to be rewound in suitable form for warp or weft. From the hank the warp is rewound on the warper's bobbin by means of the Drum Winder or Spindle Winder referred to at page 2 of the List; from the hank the weft is rewound to pirn either on the Cup Type Winding Machine referred to on the upper half of page 4 of the List, or on the Universal Winding Machine which is much more efficient and referred to in the note on the same page. From the cheese or cone the weft is rewound to pirn either on the Cup Type Winding Machine referred to on the lower half of page 4 of the List, or the No. 90 Universal Pirn Winder referred to at page 6.

COLOURED WINDING.

259. The winders are piece workers who are usually paid per pound of yarn wound according to the nature of the winding and fineness of the yarn; the finer the yarn the greater the length per pound and longer the time to wind it and hence naturally higher the rate per pound. A Naikin (female overseer) supervises the work of the winders. Banders and oilers (usually men) see to the bands driving the machinery and oil the latter. Usually Begaris or coolies bring bobbins from the spinning department and return the empty ones, and take the wound bobbins to be weighed. Number-markers mark numbers on the bobbins for identification.

WINDING WORKERS.

260. Bobbin Carriers take the warper's bobbins to the warping department. There they are arranged by the creel-boys on a large V-shaped creel, there being 400 or 500 bobbins on each creel erected in front of a warping machine. On this machine the thread from each bobbin is led through a comb-like frame over a number of rollers to a revolving beam with flanges called the warper's beam round which the yarn is wrapped. On each such beam there are wrapped evenly 400 to 500 threads side by side each of a length of about 10,000 yards. Some of the threads may be coloured according to the sort of cloth to be eventually woven from the warp all set in their proper places. The Warper attends to this machine.

WARPING.

261. The Beam Carriers carry the warper's beam from the warping to the sizing machine. The object of sizing is to strengthen the yarn by saturating it with a starchy substance, which lays the fibres, thus making it weave with less breakages. A number of warper's beams are placed at the back of the sizing machine according to the number of threads wanted for the weaver's beam; thus if 1,600 threads be wanted four beams of 400 threads

SIZING.

would be so placed. The ingredients of the size are mixed by the Size-mixers and put into a part of the machine called the Sizing-box and kept boiling there by the injection of hot steam. The warp from the beams is led by cylinders inside the sizing-box and after immersion in the size is led out by other cylinders, some of them pressing out the extra size, and others drying it, and eventually it is received on the weaver's beam in front of the machine. There are arrangements for marking lengths on the warp before it is wound on the weaver's beam. The sizing machine is attended by two men, the front and the back sizer. The sizer has to arrange the threads from the warper's beams properly so that they should come out as wanted on the weaver's beam, and this work is called gaiting. Sometimes the warp is tinted by putting colouring matter in the size.

DRAWING-IN, HEALDS AND REED.

262. The next process is that of drawing-in. As stated above different patterns of cloth are formed by the weft intersecting the warp in various ways. The plainest pattern is where in each pick the weft passes alternately over and under the ends or threads of the warp; thus in the first pick the weft may pass over the first, third and other odd ends, and under the second, fourth and other even ends, and in the second pick under the odd and over the even ones, and so on. Thus if the warp is divided into two parts the even ends being raised and odd ends depressed, and the shuttle passed through, it will lay the first pick. Then if the odd ends be raised and even ends depressed the shuttle passing through will lay the second pick and so on. Other patterns may be similarly woven by raising and depressing in succession certain groups of ends of the warp and passing the shuttle through the parting or shed as it is termed. In order to effect this parting of groups of ends, each group is passed through an instrument called a heald or heddle. The heald consists of a number of parallel strings fixed between two shafts, one at each end of the strings with a loop in the middle of each string called the eye, through which each thread of the warp forming part of the particular group is passed. Thus if the heald is suitably placed in the loom and raised or depressed all the threads of the particular group passing through its eyes will be raised or depressed, while the other threads passing between each of the strings but not through the eyes will not be affected. The term heald is sometimes used also for each of the strings of the heald, and the whole is sometimes called a shaft, as in the Millowners' Scheme. For plain weaving there may be only two healds or shafts, but for other patterns there may be a larger number amounting even to 16 or more. Drawing-in consists in passing the proper ends of the warp through the eyes of the proper healds placed one behind the other. With only two shafts or healds the work is not difficult, as each alternate end has to be drawn through the eyes of each heald, but the difficulty increases with the number of shafts. The worker who draws in the threads is called the drawer. Each thread of the warp in succession is given to him by his assistant called the Reacher, who sits on the other side of the shafts or healds. The ends of the warp besides being drawn

through the shafts have also to be drawn through an instrument called reed. The reed consists of a rectangular frame with parallel flat wires stretched across it, like the teeth of a comb, the epithet dent being applied to each of the wires as well as to the intervals between them. Usually two ends of the warp are passed through each dent in succession. The chief purposes of the reed are to keep the warp threads apart on the loom, and to beat up each pick into the cloth after it is laid. The drawer is usually a piece-worker, being paid according to the number of ends drawn in by him, the rates ranging according to the difficulty of his work arising from the number of shafts.

Loom Work.

263. After the ends are drawn in, the weaver's beam with the shafts and reed is taken to the loom and placed upon it. The beam is placed at the back of the loom, the shafts in the middle, and the reed is fixed on the top of a frame called slay, which oscillates backwards and forwards near the front part of the loom. The ends of warp, as they come out of the reed, are suitably attached in front and are gradually drawn forward, as cloth is formed from them, by the laying of the picks. When the shafts are in a neutral position all the warp ends are at the same level. When the loom begins working, some of the shafts are raised and some depressed, and the groups of depressed ends come to rest on the top of the slay and between them and the raised ends is formed a parting in front of the reed. Through this parting the shuttle, which is carried in a box at one end of the slaytop, is propelled by suitable mechanism, and received in a similar box at the other end of the slaytop, and thus a pick is laid. The slay then moves forward so that the reed strikes the pick in firmly. Next the shafts are moved, so as to lay other groups of warp ends on the slaytop, and the slay moves back, giving room for the shuttle to be propelled back over them laying the next pick. Thus the same operations continue from pick to pick, the machinery being so arranged that they are all performed automatically at their proper times including the raising and depressing of the proper shafts. This last mentioned operation is performed through contrivances called tappets when the shafts are not many, and through a mechanism called dobby when they are large in number. When the pattern is still more complicated shafts are not used, but the groups of threads are dealt with by a mechanism called jacquard, which has been excluded from the purview of the present Standardisation Scheme. When cloths have coloured or ornamental borders like Saris and Dhotis, the borders are sometimes formed by a contrivance called Cumber Board. Apart from replenishing the weft in a shuttle when it is used up, the weft may be varied at definite intervals, *e.g.*, in weaving checks when alternately wefts of different colours have to be used. For this purpose shuttles with the different kinds of weft are employed, and they are placed in what are called drop boxes which replace the ordinary shuttle boxes at each end of the slaytop. In these drop boxes the shuttles are automatically changed from time to time as required. The chief business of the weaver is to look after the working of the loom, to piece up broken warp or broken weft properly, and to put in a new shuttle or fresh yarn in the shuttle when

it gets used up. The broader the loom, the greater the number of ends, shafts, or shuttles, or other variations, the more difficult becomes his work; further the smaller the amount of yarn in the shuttle, the more quickly it gets exhausted, the greater the trouble and the greater the number of stoppages for replenishing, thus reducing production. Most of these factors have to be taken into consideration in fixing the weaver's wages. In Bombay the weaver has been hitherto paid mostly according to the weight of cloth turned out, there being different rates for different kinds of cloth, the rates even for the same kind varying from mill to mill. Two of the principal factors of the fabric of a cloth which affect the wages of the weaver are the number of ends of warp in an inch of breadth called its reeds, and the number of picks in an inch of length called its picks. It may be noted that the reeds in this sense are usually twice the number of the dents of the reed through which they pass, as usually two ends pass through a dent, and that in Lancashire lists the picks in only a quarter of an inch are usually quoted as the picks of the cloth.

FINAL PROCESSES.

264. Each piece of cloth after being woven is taken to the scaleman to weigh and note to the credit of the weaver, and is inspected by the cutlooker for faults which he marks. It may then be sent to the Calendering Machine in which it is passed between heated rollers to give it a polish, and thence to the folding machine to be folded. Finally the pieces are bundled and baled and put in the cloth warehouse. The operatives employed in these final processes are enumerated at pages 21 and 22 of the Millowners' Scheme.

CALCULATION OF WAGES.

265. All the employees with whom this inquiry is concerned receive their wages according to time-work or piece-work. The time-workers are paid for each day they actually work, and even when the wages are apparently described as monthly, what is meant is wages for the number of actual working days that may be included in the month. Thus the Millowners' Standardisation Scheme gives most of the time-wages per month, although what is meant is 26 working days, that being the ordinary number of such days in a month of 30 days. When there are 27 such days in a month of 31 days, or only 24 in a month of 28 days, the wages have to be increased or decreased in proportion. In this scheme even in the case of piece-work a certain monthly wage is often mentioned, as that which the employee will earn on his piece-work according to the rates mentioned if he works with reasonable diligence and skill, this monthly wage being for 26 working days only. The scheme is further complicated by the fact that in most cases the total wage is made up of two factors, the basic wage which usually represents the pre-war wage of July 1914, and percentages added since, in some cases amounting to 70 per cent. and in others 80 per cent. In a few cases the figures are given inclusive of these percentages, *e. g.*, in the case of Speed Frame tenters at page 6 of the Spinning Section. Hence for comparison with other data of wages, it is necessary to reduce them all to the same denomination, such as the earnings for one day, or for 26 or 27 days. For such comparison we have chiefly depended on three very useful Wage Enquiries of the Labour Office which have

already been referred to. The first is the Report on an Enquiry into the Wages and Hours of Labour in the Cotton Mill Industry published in 1923, which gives the number and average daily earnings of each kind of operatives in 82 mills in Bombay City in May 1921 with certain other details. The second is a similar report published in 1925 giving similar details for 79 such mills in August 1923. The third consists of a series of tables in two parts called "Results of an Enquiry into Wages and Absenteeism in 19 Representative Mills in Bombay City in July 1926," which were provisionally supplied to us and to the parties pending a full Report. The tables in Part I give the averages for all the 19 mills together, and those in Part II for each of them separately. In these tables besides the total number of operatives, including those who worked full time, *i.e.*, 27 days, as well as those who worked a smaller number of days, and the average earnings during the month and per day of each class of operatives in columns 4 and 5 respectively, there are also given separately the number of those who worked full time and their earnings during the month in columns 6 and 7. The daily earnings of the latter are not separately given but can be obtained by dividing the monthly earnings by 27, and will not be found to differ much from those in column 5 for all workers. Although the census was for 19 mills, Mr. Gennings, the Director of the Labour Office, in his letter to us of 6th December 1928 informs us that "they were very carefully selected.....and the results must be taken to be fully representative in every sense of the wages paid at the time the census was taken." In all the three publications just mentioned, which we generally refer to as the 1921, 1923, and 1926 Enquiry respectively, the consolidated wages are given, without any division into basic rate and percentage addition. Although in most cases the operatives are similarly grouped and named in all these three publications, in some cases they are not, as will be noted where necessary.

266. As stated before, although the parties have arrived at an agreement about many parts of the Standardisation Scheme in January and February 1929, there have remained certain points in dispute, some of a general nature and some of detail. The points of a general nature are the questions of a minimum wage of Rs. 30 and disparity between the wages of men and women which have been dealt with by us in connection with Demand No. 8 in paragraphs 156 to 170, the proposed cut in the wages of weavers which we deal with in Chapter V; the propriety of the "Efficiency" Scheme and the wages to be paid under it, if introduced, with which we deal in Chapter VII; and the reduction in the number of operatives leading to increase in unemployment and matters connected therewith, which we discuss in Chapters IV and VII. In the present Chapter we propose to deal seriatim with the questions of detail on which the parties disagree.

DOFFER BOYS.

267. The first point of disagreement between the parties is about the wages of Doffer Boys. They are employed, the majority on the Ring-Frames and the rest on Speed Frames, to take off the full bobbins and put on empty ones.

Hitherto there has been no rule as to the number to be so employed, each mill having as many as it thought proper. Since the depression in the trade set in, there has been some reduction in their number in several mills, and there will be further reduction under the Standardisation Scheme of the Millowners. This prescribes how many doffer boys shall be ordinarily employed for how many spindles, and for what fineness of yarn or roving. There was disagreement between the parties as to these numbers, as will be seen on comparing the original Standardisation Scheme of the Millowners with that of the Joint Strike Committee. But fortunately they have now come to an agreement on this point. The only difference that remains is as to the wages these operatives should get. The Millowners want to pay Rs. 12 monthly *plus* 70 per cent., which gives a consolidated wage for 26 days of Rs. 20-6-5 or a daily wage of Rs. 0-12-6½. The Joint Strike Committee on the other hand have proposed a monthly wage of Rs. 13-8-0 *plus* 70 per cent., giving for 26 days Rs. 22-15-2 or daily Rs. 0-14-1. In the 1921 Enquiry (p. 25) they are described as Side Doffers under Ring Spinning, getting on time work an average daily wage of Rs. 0-12-1. In the 1923 Enquiry (p. 29) they are also called Side Doffers under the heading Ring Spinning, getting on time work a daily wage of Rs. 0-12-8. In the 1926 Enquiry (p. 2) there are some doffer boys under the head Slubbing, Intermediate and Roving Frames, getting a daily wage of Rs. 0-12-1, and the majority also called doffer boys under the head Ring Spinning getting daily Rs. 0-12-1 ; about a third of the latter are shown as full time workers getting Rs. 20-5-8, which divided by the 27 working days of the month gives a daily wage of Rs. 0-11-3½*. Under these circumstances, we think, the wage proposed by the Millowners fair and reasonable. It has been argued by Mr. Bakhale that the wage of Rs. 20-6-5 per month is below the minimum wage and insufficient to maintain a man with wife and children. We have already dealt with the question of a minimum wage, and we consider that we would not be justified in the present enquiry in laying down the principle of it and in settling the exact amount which should be considered as sufficient for that purpose for each class of operative. But further in this case the question of the maintenance of a family can hardly be considered. Doffer boys are expected to be juveniles who begin their profession with this light work in the expectation of promotion later to the posts of tarvalas, side tenters, etc. In fact the Chief Inspector of Factories, Mr. Johnstone, informs us by his letter of 5th February 1929 that originally a large proportion of the doffer boys used to be boys under 15, but since about 1920 "the mills have curtailed child-labour, and their place has been taken by young persons," that (although he cannot give a definite statement) he "should say that considerably more than half the present 'doffer boys' are persons under 20 years of age." No doubt some grown-up men with families have also taken up this employment, possibly because they prefer this light work, or because they cannot get better employment for the

*It seems at first sight anomalous that the daily average for full time workers should be less than that for all workers. But this is due to the fact that the majority of the full time workers were employed in mills, where the pay of the doffers was less than the average.

time being, but that would not justify increase in the wages of all, thus putting an unnecessary burden on the industry. If insisted on, it would only lead to the expulsion of these family men and restriction of employment to juveniles.

ROVING TENTERS.

268. The parties also disagree as to the wages of the Roving Frame Tenters or Rovers. They as well as the tenters on the Slubbing and Intermediate Frames are piece-workers, being at present paid so much per hank of roving turned out per spindle. This system is continued in the Standardisation Scheme (pages 6 and 7), but on a more scientific basis, so that the payment per hank may be in accordance with the fineness of the roving and the amount of work necessary in each case. To arrive at the rates per hank, first the number of hanks which each machine would turn out if working continuously for full ten hours is ascertained, and this maximum of 100 per cent. efficiency production, as it is called, will have to be determined for each machine in each mill, being well-known for the ordinary machines. Next, the percentage efficiency for each kind of work is given, that is the percentage of the maximum which a worker with reasonable diligence and skill can turn out, having regard to stoppages that must occur from the breakage of roving and other causes ; this percentage efficiency is derived from past experience. Thirdly, a certain monthly wage (*i.e.*, for 26 working days) is put down as what a man working with reasonable efficiency should earn, and from this wage the rate per hank is fixed. It is with respect to this monthly wage for rovers that the disagreement exists. For the Slubbers for the ordinary work on the ordinary number of spindles, *viz.*, 84, it is put down as Rs. 38 in the Millowners' Association's Standardisation Scheme (page 6, column 5, item 3), and as to this the parties are agreed. For the rover, in the same column, for the ordinary work on the ordinary number of spindles, *viz.*, 160, the wage is put down at Rs. 32. Mr. Bakhale contends that it should be the same as that of the Slubber, or only a little less. There can be little doubt that it must be less, for the work is easier, and for that reason both in Lancashire as well as in Bombay the rover is paid less than the slubber. The question is how much less it should be. If the proportion of the Lancashire rates be adopted and if the Slubber be paid Rs. 38, the Rover would get between Rs. 27 and 28.* In Bombay the proportion has been higher. In the 1921 Enquiry (page 25) the average daily wages of a Slubber are Rs. 1-6-2, which gives for 26 days Rs. 34-0-4, and of a Rover Rs. 1-3-4, which gives for 26 days Rs. 31-6-8. In the 1923 Enquiry (page 28), the daily wages of a Slubber are Rs. 1-5-3 giving for 26 days Rs. 34-8-6, and of a Rover Rs. 1-2-7 giving for 26 days Rs. 30-3-2. In the 1926 Enquiry the rates for all the Speed Frame tenters have been grouped together, but at our request the Director has been good enough to supply the separate figures which were recorded in his office ; these show the Slubber's average daily earnings to be Rs. 1-6-3, giving

*See the Year Book of the Oldham Master Cotton Spinners' Association for 1922, pages 106 to 116, or for 1925, pages 110 to 120. The Slubbing rate for 84 spindles for the coarse roving below 3 hanks is 19 shillings, the Intermediate rate for 124 spindles for the same roving is 17sh. 2d. and the roving rate for 106 spindles is 13sh. 8d. The same proportion will be found for the finer counts.

Rs. 36-2-6 for 26 days, and the Rover's Rs. 1-3-8 giving for 26 days Rs. 31-15-2. On this point we have also another source of information, consisting of certain statements compiled by the Committee of the Millowners' Association in March 1928 for the purpose of standardising wages. These statements 46 in number were submitted to us confidentially in November 1928. No. 40 of these statements contains the average monthly wages and numbers of the operatives in the Frame Department including Slubbers and Rovers for 64 mills in nine groups. It is not clear to what month they refer, and whether they are for 26 or 27 working days, nor is there any division in them between those who worked all the days and those who did not. Hence these figures cannot be used for ascertaining the exact amount of the daily earnings, but they can be used for the purpose of comparing the wages of one class of operatives with those of another as all would be affected in the same way. From these figures, on calculation, we find the average monthly wages of a Slubber to be Rs. 36-13-10 and of a Rover Rs. 33-9-2. Under these circumstances, we think Rs. 33 would be fair wages for the Rover for 26 days. It is to be noted that the wages of the Intermediate Frame tenter in the Scheme which both parties agree to are Rs. 35, and those of a Rover have to be less. Rs. 38, Rs. 35 and Rs. 33 would form a fair scale. Further each would get a little more than what he has been hitherto getting according to the enquiries of 1921, 1923 and 1926.

RING FRAME TENTERS.

269. Another point of difference is as to the wages of a Sider or Ring piecer who attends to one side of a twist ring frame of 300 spindles or less. Ring frame attendants are time-workers and under the Millowners' Scheme (page 9) have been divided into four classes according to the number of spindles in the frames they attend. The lowest class comprises those who attend on one side of a frame of 300 spindles or less, that is who are in charge of 150 spindles or less, and their wages are fixed at Rs. 15-8-0 *plus* 70 per cent. for 26 days. The man of the next higher class who attends to one side of a frame of 301 to 360 spindles gets Rs. 16; the other two classes who attend to more spindles get respectively Rs. 16-8-0 and Rs. 17-8-0. The parties are agreed as to the wages of the three higher classes, but objection is taken to the rate of the lowest class on the ground that the same wages, *viz.*, Rs. 15-8-0 *plus* 70 per cent. are to be paid to Tarvalas. Now, it is true that an average tarvala's work is considered slightly easier than that of an average sider and, therefore, he is paid slightly less, as the figures in all the Labour Office enquiry reports show. But the sider on a twist frame of 300 spindles and less cannot be considered an average sider. Such small frames are in a minority, the great majority of the frames being larger.* Hence there is no validity in the objection and we cannot allow it. Further, it has to be noted that there is an actual increase in the wages such siders have been hitherto getting. In all the Labour Office

*The statement put in by the Millowners' Association on 13th February 1929 regarding all but fourteen mills in Bombay shows that the frames with spindles up to 300 are 1065 for warp and 266 for weft, whereas those with more than 300 spindles are 3783 for warp and 1746 for weft.

enquiries, all ring frame siders are grouped together and their daily average wages in 1921 were Rs. 1-0-3, in 1923 Rs. 1-0-4, and in 1926 Rs. 1-0-3, giving for 26 days respectively Rs. 26-6-6, Rs. 26-8-8, and Rs. 26-6-6. There can be little doubt that the siders on the smaller frames must have been receiving less than those on the large ones, some having 420 spindles or more. But the wage now proposed for the lowest class of Rs. 15-8-0 *plus* 70 per cent. comes to Rs. 26-5-6, *i.e.*, practically the same as the original average ; for the others, it comes to a good deal more. Further 8 annas *plus* 70 per cent., *i.e.*, 13 annas 7 pies, are added to the wages of each class if they work on weft frames with the same number of spindles, or if they spin coarser counts than 8. Under the circumstances, we think the wages given in the Millowners' Scheme for these operatives are fair and reasonable.

WARPERS.

270. The parties disagree as to the wages to be paid to the warper. He is a piece-worker and the Millowners' Scheme, page 9, proposes to give him a wage of Rs. 52 for 26 days of 10 hours' work. On the other side it has been contended that he should get Rs. 58 to 60 on two grounds, *viz.* (1) that he has been getting more up-to-now, and (2) that hitherto he has been working for 8½ or 9 hours and so ought to get for 10 hours even more than he has been getting. In support of these contentions it has been pointed out that in the Enquiry of 1926, Part I, page 4, the average monthly earnings of the warpers who worked full time are shown as Rs. 57-2-7, that in several mills the warper has been getting even more, as admitted by mill officials examined on behalf of the millowners, that in one case in the Enquiry of 1926 he used to get nearly Rs. 83 (Part II, page 13) and the fact of his working hitherto less than 10 hours in many mills is admitted by the same officials. To this the reply of the millowners has been that it is true the warper has been up-to-now getting more, although working for less than 10 hours, but that he has been greatly overpaid,that his work is certainly easier than that of an ordinary weaver who gets about Rs. 50, and therefore his wages have been deliberately reduced, that this overpayment has been in many cases due to the fact that he has been paid on a faulty system, *viz.*, on the weight of the yarn warped, instead of on the length. We consider that the contentions of the millowners are correct, for several experienced weaving-masters and managers, whose good faith we see no reason to doubt, have emphatically expressed the opinion that the warper is overpaid, and that the proposed wage of Rs. 52 would be quite fair, if not more than he deserves. There is no evidence to the contrary. The system of paying by weight in this case seems faulty, for the machine runs at the same speed both for coarse and fine yarn, the payment should be by length as proposed in the scheme, as it is in some mills, and as it is in Lancashire (page 107 of the Uniform List of Prices for Weaving, 1924). Further there has been a misunderstanding as to the average wages hitherto paid. The amount of Rs. 57-2-7 in the last column of the 1926 Enquiry, Part I, page 4, represents the earnings for 27 days, and not 26 ; the earnings on the same basis for the latter period, which is that for which the Scheme provides, would come to very little over Rs. 55. It would give a daily wage of Rs. 2-1-10½, which is practically the same

as Rs. 2-1-9 given in the 5th column for all warpers whether full time workers or otherwise. In the 1923 Enquiry (page 31) the daily average is Rs. 1-15-11, and in the 1921 Enquiry (page 27) it is Rs. 2-1-3. So the reduction would not be as large as it has been supposed to be, and we think it fair and reasonable even allowing for the proposed increase in the hours of work.

WARPING JOBBERS.

271. Another disputed question is as respects the wages of the warping jobber. He is a time-worker and the Millowners' Scheme, page 9, proposes for him a wage of Rs. 35 *plus* 70 per cent., that is Rs. 59-8-0 for 26 days or Rs. 2-4-7 per day. It has been contended that this is less than the present pay, as the amount of Rs. 63-12-0 is shown as the average monthly earnings of a full time operative of this kind in the Enquiry of 1926 (page 3), wherein he is called Assistant Jobber. There is a misunderstanding in the matter as in the case of the warper, for the amount of Rs. 63-12-0 is for 27 days ; for 26 days this would give Rs. 61-6-3 for comparison with the Millowners' Rs. 59-8-0 for the same period. Besides these are the wages of only two of the operatives, the average for all being Rs. 2-3-0 per day, giving Rs. 56-14-0 for 26 days. Further it has been affirmed that the work of these men is no heavier than that of Assistant Jobbers and Doffer Jobbers in the Spinning Department, for whom a wage of Rs. 35 *plus* 70 per cent. has been agreed to. Having regard to all these facts we cannot say that the proposed pay for this operative is not fair and reasonable. To avoid misunderstanding it may be noted that the above discussion is not meant to apply to the operatives described as Head Jobbers in the Warping Department in the Enquiries of 1921, 1923, and 1926. Head Jobbers have been expressly kept out of the purview of the Standardisation Scheme.

CREEL BOYS.

272. The next point in dispute is as to the wages of the creel boys or creelers in the Warping Department. They are time-workers, and the Millowners' Scheme, page 9, proposes to give them Rs. 12 *plus* 70 per cent. just as to the Doffer boys. It has been contended that they should get more as they have been hitherto getting more, especially as they have been working up-to now only 8½ or 9 hours a day. Their average daily wages were according to the 1926 Enquiry (page 4) Rs. 0-13-2, according to the 1923 Enquiry (page 31) Rs. 0-12-11, and according to the 1921 Enquiry (page 17) Rs. 0-12-11. The Millowners' Scheme would give them a daily wage of Rs. 0-12-6½. We see no good reason for this reduction. It has not been alleged that they have been overpaid like the warpers. No doubt they are expected to be juveniles like the Doffer boys, but their work is a little superior as they have to arrange the bobbins on the creels with a little more attention, especially if there are yarns of different colours in the warp. This superiority is shown by the fact that their wages are a little higher than those of Doffer boys in all the Enquiries. Under the circumstances we are of opinion that they should be paid Rs. 12-8-0 *plus* 70 per cent. which would make their daily earnings Rs. 0-13-1.

273. The next two points in dispute concern the operatives of the Drawing-in Department. The first is as respects the jobber of lowest grade, for whom the Millowners' Scheme (page 12) provides a wage of Rs. 35 *plus* 70 per cent., or Rs. 59-8-0 for 26 days for looking after a department which supplies 1,000 looms or less. When the number of looms is over 1,000 and under 2,000, Rs. 40 *plus* 70 per cent. are provided, and this amount is not disputed, but it has been contended that the same rate should be paid even when the number of looms is under 1,000. In this case it is not possible to find from the Wages Enquiries what such a jobber has been getting hitherto, for they give the average wages of all jobbers, and there can be little doubt that those in the larger mills with more looms must have been getting more than those with less. It has been contended on the one hand that he should not get more than a warping jobber or a doffer jobber, or similar jobbers in the Spinning Department, *viz.*, Rs. 35 *plus* 70 per cent. On the other hand it has been said with some reason that a Drawing-in jobber has to have greater skill than those mentioned. On the whole we are of opinion that if the Rs. 35 wage is confined to the jobbers whose department supplies 800 looms or less, the arrangement will be fair ; the payment will be in proportion to the amount of work as well as skill. In the case of over 800 looms and up to 2,000 the wage will be Rs. 40 *plus* 70 per cent.

OPERATIVES OF DRAWING-IN DEPARTMENT.

274. The next dispute in this department is as respects the shaft allowances for the drawers for different varieties. The parties have come to an agreement as respects the basic allowances, which are given just above the table of shaft allowances on page 12 of the Scheme. Witnesses have been cited to show that in some mills the allowances are much higher. This is admitted, but that does not prove that the average allowances are higher. Further a statement has been put in on behalf of the Millowners, showing that in the "Lancashire Lists" the allowances, as compared with the basic rates on which both parties are now agreed, are lower. We think that, if the Drawer can with reasonable diligence and skill earn the wage he has been hitherto earning, which is put down in the scheme at Rs. 26 *plus* 80 per cent. and which has not been disputed, the allowances should be considered fair and reasonable. The framers of the Scheme, who were experts, are of opinion that he can do so, and it has been agreed on behalf of the Millowners that, if after trial for a few months the Drawer is found not to earn the said wage, the allowances will be raised in consultation with the Joint Committee. We consider that this is a fair arrangement, and subject to it we consider the allowances fair and reasonable.

SHAFT ALLOWANCES FOR DRAWERS.

275. We now come to the settlement of the wages of the weaver, and this is a much more complicated problem than those dealt with above, for hundreds of varieties of cloth are now being woven in Bombay and there are constant changes and additions. The very numerous factors which have to be considered for the solution of this problem in a systematic manner, instead of the haphazard methods or

DIFFICULTIES AS TO THE WEAVER'S WAGE.

rather want of method hitherto prevalent in Bombay, are fully set forth at pages 13 to 19 of the Scheme. Such factors are the reeds, the picks, the nature of the weft and the warp, their fineness and colour, the width of the loom, the size of the pirn in the shuttle, the borders, headings, the speed of the loom, additional mechanism like dobbies, drop boxes, Cumber Board, and many other matters. As stated before, the Scheme is based on the "Lancashire Uniform List" but modified so as to make it simpler and suit the circumstances of Bombay work. Thus, the Lancashire List works on the basis of the price per pick, whereas the Millowners' Scheme works on the basis of the price per square yard. But the final results are similar in both cases, the main principle being to proportion the payment to the labour and skill, with due allowance for the speed of the machinery, loss of time in reshuttling, etc. The Scheme has been framed by a body of experts with very great care and after elaborate inquiries and discussion, and has been modified from time to time in the light of facts and arguments elicited during discussion with the other side, and the framers are prepared and expect to modify it in accordance with experience in consultation with the Joint Committee of both parties. Besides, for the better understanding and working of the Scheme, the framers have printed a Book of Examples, showing in detail for some of the commoner varieties of cloth woven in looms of different widths all the factors as detailed in the Scheme, which go to the settlement of the weaving price of each variety, also showing the length a reasonably diligent weaver is expected to weave per day and the amount he is thereby expected to earn per month. The avowed intention of the Millowners, from the time of the reference to us, has been to make a cut of about 7½ per cent. in the average wage hitherto obtained by the weaver, and the rates in the Scheme were to the best of their belief arranged to bring about such a cut. As it was contended on the other side that the cut would be much larger than 7½ per cent. we tried to ascertain whether it was so, and for that purpose asked the Millowners to submit a list of the commoner varieties of cloth with the average rate per pound for each at present being paid, and the rate per pound that would be payable under the Standardisation Scheme. They did so after making inquiries from as many mills as possible, and submitted a comparative list for 32 varieties, being all those mentioned in the Book of Examples as woven on looms 40 and 46 inches broad. This showed that the cut on many varieties, especially of the finer kind, would be much larger than 7½ per cent. We also asked the Millowners to submit a list of all the kinds of cloth woven in each mill in the month of July 1927 with the amount that was paid, and the amount that would have been payable, if the Standardisation Scheme had been in force. This task, although a troublesome one, was carried out for the great majority of the mills and the result showed that the payments to the weavers, if the Scheme had been in force, would have been nearly 12½ per cent. less. This brought out the true position so far as it could be having regard to the constantly changing factors, and was probably one of the main reasons for the agreement that was come to on many points in January and February 1929. The Millowners have increased the rates, especially for the cloths containing coloured yarn or

artificial silk warp, so as to reduce the cut according to the best of their belief to about 7 per cent. Still several points remain to be settled, some affecting many varieties such as the width and weft allowances, and some affecting a few. We give our opinion about them below, but with great diffidence. We may in this connection quote the words of Chapman in his work "The Lancashire Cotton Industry" (1904), page 275. "An arbitrator belonging to the trade is open to suspicion of bias, and an outsider may make serious mistakes through his ignorance of the industry." We are not arbitrators, but the liability to error applies to us as outsiders. Considering that the subject is of a very technical nature and we are in no way familiar with it, that it has been dealt with by a number of highly competent experts who have done their best in good faith to arrive at a satisfactory solution and yet occasionally differ, and who are prepared and expect to make further modifications in the light of experience, our opinion must necessarily be taken subject to the same condition. We may further state that we deal with the list as it stands now ; we do not make any changes in accordance with our suggestion in Chapter V that the cut be dropped for the sake of harmony. What further changes may have to be made in accordance with that suggestion we leave to the parties. With these preliminary remarks we proceed to deal with the points in dispute about the weaver's wage in the same order, in which they were dealt with during discussion.

ALLOWANCES FOR HEADINGS.

276. The first three disputed items concern the allowances dealt with at page 17 of the list. The first relates to the allowance for Headings, which usually consist of a number of coloured bars across the grey background. Each bar requires two changes of shuttle, the first when the coloured weft is put in, and the second when the grey is again inserted. In the list in the third paragraph no allowance is given for 8 such shuttle changes or 4 bars. Mr. Bakhale desired that 5 should be put for 8, and that a 2 per cent. allowance should be given for 6 to 8 changes. It has been stated on the other side that no such allowance is given in Lancashire. We can see no sufficient reason to make the desired change.

ALLOWANCE FOR ARTIFICIAL SILK USED AS WEFT.

277. The second dispute relates to the allowance for artificial silk used as weft. On page 17 under the heading "coloured weft", an allowance of 10 per cent. is given for artificial silk weft. Mr. Bakhale wished it to be raised to 20 per cent. As admitted by both sides, in Lancashire till 1925 an allowance of 35 per cent. used to be given for such weft, but in that year owing to improvements in the manufacture of the material, which rendered work with it easier, the allowance was reduced to 20 per cent. Mr. Stones stated that steps were being taken for a further reduction in Lancashire owing to further improvements in the material, which were making it almost as easy to work with as cotton yarn, and he added that Bombay was at present doing good business in this line, which would be killed owing to outside competition, if the allowance were raised to 20 per cent. Considering all the circumstances, we think the allowance might be raised to 15 per cent.

278. The third point is as respects the allowance for two weaver's Beams one on top of the other, with which work is in a few cases done on the loom. The allowance is 2½ per cent. in the list. Mr. Bakhale contended that it should be raised to 5 per cent., as that is the percentage allowed in Lancashire. On the other side, it was argued that in Lancashire a weaver usually managed four looms and hence working with two beams on one of these looms was more difficult for him, than it would be for the Bombay weaver with two looms. We think this argument reasonable and would therefore let the List rate stand, except in cases where Bombay weavers manage more than two looms, when it may be raised to 5 per cent.

ALLOWANCES FOR SUPERIMPOSED BEAMS.

279. The next item in dispute is with respect to the allowances for weft. The smaller the amount of yarn in the shuttle, the sooner it gets exhausted, and the greater the trouble to the weaver with a consequent loss of time and production. The amount of yarn depends on the size of the pirn and also on the fineness of the yarn. Hence the smaller the pirn or the coarser the yarn, the greater has to be the allowance, and the table at page 15 of the Millowners' list is based on these two factors. During the negotiations between the parties in January and February 1929 the Millowners made several changes in this table in favour of the operatives, but the Joint Strike Committee demand still larger allowances. They have been guided in this mostly by the advice of one of their members, Mr. Rajab, himself a weaver by profession, and put in several tables* framed by him with respect to weaving rates on the same plan as those of the Millowners but with higher amounts. One of these is with respect to the weft allowances. A comparison of this table with that of the Millowners shows that the chief difference occurs with respect to yarn above 10 counts, thus affecting most of the varieties of cloth. It has been contended for the operatives that the allowances should be in accordance with the Lancashire Uniform List, which awards them for counts below 31 under Clauses 1 and 10 at pages 7 and 18 of the 1924 Edition of the List. On the other side it has been contended that the Uniform List is inapplicable, as the weft used in Lancashire for grey goods is much finer than that used in Bombay which is of about 20 counts, and that comparison would be more properly made with the Colne list for coloured goods, Clauses 1 and 7 at pages 127 and 132 of the book just cited, as the yarn used is of a coarser kind, and that the allowances given in the present scheme are greater than those in the Colne list. It has also been contended for the workers that there should be no deductions for Universal Pirns like those shown in the last column of the Millowners' list. On the other side it has been argued, that the deductions are fully justified, as there is extra cost in getting the yarn wound on Universal Pirns and they facilitate the weaver's work and increase the production, thus increasing his wages. It has also been argued for the Millowners that in the list originally put forward by the Joint Strike

WEFT ALLOWANCES.

* *See* Tables in Appendix XV.

Committee they have adopted most of the Millowners' rates except the deductions for Universal Pirns. To this the reply for the workers has been that when they put in their original list they had claimed much larger basic rates per picks than those given at page 13 of the Millowners' list, whereas they have since agreed to accept lower basic rates. The facts appear to us to be that the tables for the different weaving allowances are interdependent, and that the Millowners' table at page 15 is so constructed as in combination with the basic rates to bring about a general cut of about 7 per cent. on the weavers' rates as a whole, whereas Mr. Rajab's tables seem meant to remove that cut, and even add to the present rates. As stated before, we deal with the Scheme at present as if the cut were to be made, leaving it to the parties to readjust it if the cut is dropped. On this understanding we cannot say that the Millowners' table is unreasonable or improper.

DHOTI AND SARI ALLOWANCES.

280. The next point of disagreement relates to the Dhoti and Sari allowances at page 18 of the Millowners' List. The dispute is as to the allowances for borders. The allowances are based on two factors, the width of the border and the fineness of the warp, including the nature of the cotton from which it has been spun. Originally in the Millowners' list there were four differences of width each in a line, and four differences of warp each in a separate column, *viz.*, counts below 28, counts 28 to 32 spun from American and Uganda Cotton, similar counts from Indian Cotton, and counts above 32. The highest figures of allowances were in the third column of counts 28 to 32 from Indian Cotton, and the Joint Strike Committee in their original statement adopted these highest figures for all cases. The Millowners in their revised Scheme have added a fifth difference of width, preserved the figures for warp in the first and fourth columns but reduced them for the second and third columns. Mr. Rajab's table has made still greater changes, giving five columns for warp and greatly enhanced rates. We think that there is justification for the Millowners' reduction of the rates in the second column for Uganda cotton, but not for the reduction of the rates in the third column. It appears from the evidence that Uganda cotton is only used in two mills in Bombay, is very superior to the Indian Cotton and necessarily more costly, is much easier to work, and has been specially used for the manufacture of Calcutta Dhotis. The representatives of these mills stated very emphatically that the trade in these Dhotis would be killed, if the allowances originally given in the second column were continued, especially in view of Japanese competition. It is for this reason that these rates have been reduced by 5 per cent. in the revised Scheme. It appears to us that this reduction is justifiable. It is in the interests of the workers, as well as the Millowners, that improvements and advances in the industry be not unnecessarily hindered. If the operatives themselves are willing to work at lower rates on account of the greater ease that the more costly material gives them, they should not be prevented from doing so. In fact it appears to us that the work in Uganda Cotton, being limited only to two mills ought not at present to

be subjected to standardisation. The owners and operatives should be left to settle their terms about this work between themselves, the rates in the scheme being merely regarded as suggestions. But we cannot take the same view of the reduction in the third column. No special reason has been shown for it. Of course if the reduction had been made by consent of parties, we would not have objected. But that is not the case. Hence with respect to this column, we approve of the Scheme as it originally stood. No good reason has been shown for disapproval of the original entries in this column and the rest of the revised part. The additional distinction in width is, if anything, more favourable to the operatives.

WIDTH ALLOWANCES.

281. The next contention is with respect to the allowances for widths given at page 16 of the Millowners' list. At first sight it might seem as if no such allowance would be necessary, as payment would be per square yard, and the width would be reckoned in the measurement. But this would not be fair; for example a cloth 18 inches wide would get half the price for one 36 inches wide, whereas the labour, skill and time given to the weaving would be far more than 50 per cent. Cloths of smaller width would ordinarily be woven on looms correspondingly smaller, and those looms would work with greater speed and efficiency, but even allowing for this the weaver would get too little, *e.g.*, the 18″ cloth woven on a 28″ loom would get only about 55 per cent. of the 36″ cloth woven on a 40″ loom. It is therefore so arranged that a weaver working on a smaller loom would get something less than the one on a larger one, but it would not be quite in proportion to the width of the cloth or loom. In the present case the Millowners' list is so arranged that the weaver of the 18″ cloth would get only about 9½ per cent. less than the one weaving a 36″ cloth. The Joint Strike Committee in their original list adopted all the figures of the Millowners. During the negotiations in January and February 1929 the Millowners made some changes in their list favourable to the workers. But the latter have now put in a list framed by Mr. Rajab, which would give a great deal more. The standard, which in the Millowners' List is from 36″ to 66″, is limited in the workers' list to 45″ to 55″, giving allowances at both ends so as to increase the wages in all the commoner kinds. The fact is as stated in connection with the weft allowances that the object seems to be to remove the cut and get something more, and for reasons given in the same connection, we do not think it proper to make the change ourselves. It can be made by the parties later on. If the change is to be effected, one of the ways of doing so would be to raise the standard from 36 to 40 inches on one side, and contracting it to 60 inches on the other. For the present the only change as respects the standard that we consider necessary is to put the larger limit at 64 instead of 66. The reason for this is that a cloth of 64 inches width is woven on a loom of 68 inches width with a speed of 160 picks as shown in the Millowners' book of examples; whereas a cloth of 65 inches width has to be woven on a 72″ loom with a speed of 150, and the consequence is that an operative weaving the wider cloth gets nearly 5 per cent. less than the

one weaving the narrower. This will be clearer from the note which we append on these width rates, containing calculations (Appendix XVI). Hence we think that the 10 per cent. allowance should extend from 65″ to 74″ instead of 67″ to 74″. There are some irregularities in the allowances for the widths from 27″ to 32″, the result of which is that a weaver weaving wider cloths earns less. They seem due to some mistakes in calculation. We suggest in the appended note how they may be adjusted.

ALLOWANCES FOR DROP BOXES.

281-A. The last point of disagreement with which we deal relates to the allowances for drop-boxes. They are used when different kinds of weft have to be put in, *e.g.*, for checks. The looms with these work with less speed, and the weaver has also to be more careful, having to deal with two or more shuttles. In their original list at page 19 the Millowners allowed 45 per cent. over the plain rates for drop-boxes. In the course of the negotiations in January and February 1929 they have transferred these allowances to page 16 and given them in another column opposite the widths. In doing so they have set down rates which in many cases are a good deal less than 45 per cent. plus the rates for plain cloth, and this is objected to by the other side. The reply of the Millowners is that the old rates were dependent on the basic rates, that the basic rates for coloured warp have been greatly increased, and drop-boxes are mostly used for checks containing coloured warp, and hence the old arrangement cannot be carried out. The reply appears to be fair within limits. But it is clear from an examination of the tables for plain and drop-box work, that in the higher counts the revised rates are not justifiable. It is true that in the higher counts the difference between the speeds of drop-box looms and plain looms decreases, but that it exists up to looms of 64″ width is shown by the Millowners' Book of Examples. Moreover these examples show that there is a big reduction in the rates for cloth worked on drop-boxes in the higher counts. Further, even if the speeds approximate, the other difficulties of drop-box work remain. Yet the revised rates for drop-box work from 47″ to 66″ width are given as standard, *i.e.*, the same as for plain work, from 67″ to 82″ they remain standard and so fall below the rates for plain for which allowances are given, and from 83″ upwards an allowance of only 10 per cent. is given whereas for plain work an allowance of 25 per cent. is given. No sufficient explanation has been given for these anomalies. Under these circumstances, while allowing the rates for 38″ and less to stand as in the revised list as they appear fair, we consider that for 39″ to 48″ an allowance of 30 per cent. should be given, for 49″ to 53″ an allowance of 15 per cent., for 54″ to 64″ an allowance of 10 per cent., and above 64″ the same as for plain cloth.

RATES TO BE TRIED OUT.

281-B. At the end of this discussion of disputed points it will be well to note, that apart from the general liability to revision of the whole scheme after experience, the parties have specially agreed with respect to certain matters that the rates should be tried out for three months and

then revised, if found necessary. These special matters are (1) the rates for winders, (2) the rates for sizers, (3) the rates for reelers, and (4) the efficiency percentages of the Speed frame workers, about (3) and (4) of which the agreement was made only at the last stage, *viz.*, on 9th March 1929.

MEDIATION RULES.

282. This will, we think, be a convenient place in which to refer to the "Mediation Rules", which have been agreed to by the parties, and which are reproduced in Appendix XI, with a slight amendment that was adopted in the discussion before us on the 4th of February 1929. These rules are based on the Joint Rules for Settlement of Trade Disputes in the Cotton Textile Industry in Lancashire, which are given at pages 119-126 of the "Uniform List of Prices for Weaving" for 1924. They will afford machinery for the discussion of disputes, which, it may be hoped, will lead to a diminution of the present too common practice of "lightning strikes". Thus even though the agreement of 4th October 1928 constituted a truce in "hostilities," such as "lock-outs" and "strikes", no less than 70 strikes of this nature took place during the proceedings of the Committee. It is obvious that this state of things is prejudicial to the well-being of the industry, including that of the workers themselves, and that its continuance, when combined with the high level of wages in Bombay, may result in increasing the existing tendency of Millowners to establish mills up-country, where labour is cheaper and works more steadily. The present greater uncertainty as to when a lightning strike may take place in a mill necessarily disables its management in many ways, *e.g.*, in accepting large contracts, and the workers themselves will surely benefit by progress towards the stage now generally reached in Europe, where discussion and an attempt at settlement between the Workers' and the Employers' organisations are almost necessary preludes to a strike or a lock-out.

PROPOSED PROVISION FOR REGULAR PERIODICAL MEETINGS.

283. Mr. Bakhale, with a view to the two sides keeping in touch and to prevent discontent accumulating, proposed that provision should be made in the rules for regular periodical meetings between representatives of mills and the representatives of the Trade Unions to deal with complaints of the operatives. The Millowners' Association, however, objected to this proposal on the ground that this would increase trivial complaints and the tendency of over-zealous and irresponsible representatives of Trade Unions to create trouble. They also point out that Rule 4 provides for meetings upon application of the kind mentioned in it. The question is not one which comes within our Terms of Reference, and we therefore refrain from expressing an opinion upon it; but we may cite some remarks by Mr. Gilchrist as pertinent to the subject.* He refers to Works Committees of the kind contemplated by Mr. Bakhale and says:

"The question of holding regular meetings is one which is open to argument. Frequent meetings may tend to raise artificial difficulties,

*R. N. Gilchrist in the Indian Labour Bulletin No. 23 "Conciliation and Arbitration."

but they may also help to meet difficulties half way. If meetings are not held regularly, perhaps a question may reach an acute stage before a meeting is summoned to discuss it. Where the management is represented on the Works Committees the advantage of frequent meetings between the workers and the management is obvious, but frequent meetings, especially if there is no business, tend to make the meetings uninteresting and to neutralise the purpose of the committees. The Government Committee pointed out that the main thing is not so much the regularity of the meetings as what may be called the principle of the "open door". The essential point is that the management should be ready at any time to receive the representatives of the men and discuss questions freely with them."

We feel no doubt that the Millowners' Association will be ready to consider whether they can agree to something that would embody this principle of the "open door", so that a grievance can be considered before it reaches the stage of a dispute in which a strike is contemplated.

284. The introduction of the Standardisation Scheme will inevitably tend to increase the number of disputes, at any rate in its early stages. Mr. Neville Hunt in his written statement points out that the great difficulty in arriving at an equitable settlement between masters and men is the absence of trust and the gap that divides the two lines of thought. He goes on to say:

"This gap can only be bridged by workers having an organisation equally combined and equally expert as the Millowners' Association; and an organisation which the men can trust and whose decisions and agreements they will loyally abide by. Such an organisation can only be built up by the co-operation of the Millowners and Government. The Millowners could subscribe to such a scheme so long as it was guaranteed that their subscriptions were to be utilized only for the purpose of supplying expert technical advisers. Government could help by seeing that all Societies are properly organised and administered, and that the funds collected from the workers were properly employed and that the names of all officers be registered and that their credentials and suitability to act be carefully scrutinised. Government in the first instance could lend a Registrar or supervisor of these Societies in much the same way as they do for Co-operative Credit Societies. The great need for both parties is that the men must be supplied with first class technical advice."

NEED FOR EXPERT TECHNICAL ADVISER TO TRADE UNIONS.

285. We concur that there is need for an expert technical adviser to the Trade Unions in Bombay. In fact the proposal is one that is almost essential for the proper working of the Standardization Scheme, and such an expert, in whom both sides have confidence, will greatly help towards the settlement of disputes. We

hope, therefore, that the Trade Unions will combine to make some arrangement of the kind. It is obviously of importance to have for this purpose a genuine expert and not a mere partizan or agitator; but beyond saying this we think that the other questions raised by Mr. Hunt, which have not been discussed by the parties, had best be left alone by us.

CHAPTER VII.

THE " EFFICIENCY " SYSTEM.

RECOMMENDATION OF THE TARIFF BOARD FOR INCREASING EFFICIENCY.

286. In paragraph 59 of the Tariff Board Report it is said (page 133) : " The only alternative to a reduction in wages is increased efficiency and it is in this direction that, in our view, the true line of advance lies. Here again, however, the Bombay Millowners' Association appear to think that everything possible has been done, but, if that is so, we cannot too strongly emphasise our conviction that the outlook for the Bombay Mill Industry is very gloomy, for it must be remembered that the great majority of the up-country mills started a long way behind the Bombay mills in the matter of labour efficiency but are rapidly gaining on them in this respect." Again in paragraph 61 they say (pages 135 and 136) : " We are strongly of opinion that an extension of the piecework system to spinners would have a perceptible effect in increasing the efficiency of the Bombay mill industry and that this should be accompanied by an increase in the number of spindles allotted to each spinner. It may be noted that Bombay is the only centre in the Bombay Presidency in which there are no spinners on piecework and that we found the system in force in several mills outside the Presidency. The representatives of the Bombay Millowners' Association explained to us that it would be very difficult to introduce a radical change of this nature since it would have to be introduced by all mills, as otherwise any mill making the change would be faced by a strike. We entirely agree that a change of this kind must be general but, unless the Bombay millowners are prepared to take combined action in matters of such vital importance to the industry, we can only repeat that the outlook for the industry in Bombay is very far from hopeful. The problem before the Bombay mill industry is, as we have explained, the maintenance of its labour efficiency relative to that of other centres." They accordingly made specific recommendations for increasing the number of spindles looked after by each sider and the number of looms looked after by each weaver, and similar economies in the other departments. Prior, however, to their Report some steps in this direction had already been taken. Thus we were informed that in 1923 Sir Victor Sassoon called upon his Technical Staff to report as to the possibility of reducing costs of production in this manner. In the Association's written statement it is said that, after the Manchester Mill was acquired by E. D. Sassoon & Co., Ltd., over six months were spent in repairing the Plant and Buildings and that old and worn out machinery was scrapped, machinery not suitable for the manufacture of Standard Sheetings being transferred to sister mills and replaced by suitable machinery either new or from sister mills. The

MEASURES ADOPTED BY CERTAIN MILLS FOR INCREASING EFFICIENCY.

"Efficiency" system was introduced in the Spinning Department of this mill in May 1926 and in the Weaving Department (to the extent of one weaver looking after three looms) in January 1927, which was the month in which the Tariff Board issued their Report. The system was extended to other mills at various times in 1926, 1927 and 1928. A full account of the new system, the reasons for its adoption, and its progress, as well as arguments in support of it, have been given by Messrs. E. D. Sassoon & Co., Ltd., in the written statement of the Millowners' Association about it, and this is reproduced in Appendix XII. A similar system with some variations was also introduced in the three mills under the agency of Messrs. James Finlay & Co., in December 1927 and January 1928. The only other mill in Bombay, which has taken steps towards the adoption of the system, is the Kohinoor Mill under the agency of Messrs. Killick Nixon & Co., where economies have been introduced in the Preparatory and Spinning Departments as follows:

Blow Room—2 men to 3 scutchers.

Roving Frames—1 man to 2 machines.

Spinning Frames—2 men to 3 sides.

Since the resumption of work after the agreement of the 4th of October, the system previously introduced has been in operation, though there have been one or two strikes in connection with it. It may be added that the system of three looms or four looms for one weaver instead of the usual two looms is not new in India. Thus the first Table in paragraph 23 at page 12 of the Report on the Wages Enquiry of 1921 shows a total of 399 weavers looking after 3 looms, and 287 looking after four looms, in the Bombay Presidency. Out of these 134 and 53 respectively were in Bombay City and Island, and 223 and 221 respectively in Ahmedabad. Similarly, in the Table in paragraph 36 at page 14 of the Report on the Wages Enquiry of 1923, the number of weavers with three looms in the Bombay Presidency is shown as 434 and the number of those with four looms as 212, out of which 185 and 3 were from Bombay City and 104 and 110 from Ahmedabad. Again as regards increased spindlage per operative, the Tariff Board Report (p. 136) mentions that in a mill in Madras three operatives instead of four were then looking after 720 spindles, *i.e.*, 240 each. They also point out that the number of spindles per operative in Japan, England and the United States is very much larger.

QUESTION OF EXTRA STRAIN ON OPERATIVES.

287. Various objections have been raised to this system in the written statement of the Joint Strike Committee about it, which is reproduced in Appendix XIII. The first question we take up is whether the increased work imposed on an operative by his having to attend to more spindles, machines or looms, is unreasonable. Evidence was given by many witnesses from the mills that they could not properly do this increased work without undue strain, but statements of this kind made by men who have never tried the increased efficiency methods and have no knowledge of the conditions under which the extra work is done,

should of course be considerably discounted. No witnesses were called from the mills, in which the ' Efficiency ' system is actually working, to support the allegations contained in the written statement of the Joint Strike Committee on the three-loom and two-frame system, as to the undue strain imposed on the operatives concerned. On the other hand there is a considerable body of testimony by persons in a position to express a realiable opinion that, under suitable conditions, a weaver can easily mind three looms, and a spinner mind two sides of a frame. Such evidence is strongly supported by the fact that the increased work has been done for some time in India and that very much more is done in other countries. One of the fundamental points of the system is that, while asking the operative to give an increased efficiency, extra facilities should be given to make things easy for him, such as the supply of good material, simplification of the work and extra assistance. Thus Mr. Stones in his summing up on the system stated as follows :—

" Much is made on page 4 (of the Joint Strike Committee's written statement) of the tendency in Indian mills to spin higher counts of yarn from cotton than the quality of the cotton warrants. We emphatically state that we have done the reverse, namely, that we are spinning counts from mixings which would readily spin finer counts, in fact the provision of better cotton is one of the fundamentals for the success of the new scheme and is our most costly item of increased expenditure in connection with the scheme.

" Our experiments were made on frames used for the spinning of higher counts and it was decided that for the present it certainly should be optional to the worker to keep to one side on counts 10s and below.

" On page 7 it is stated that it takes at least half a day for each beam to be properly arranged on the loom and set to work. We would first point out that the weaver has nothing to do with putting the beam on the loom or setting it to work. This is done by the Line Jobber and assistants provided to do the work and instead of taking half a day, takes about fifteen minutes.

" On the lower portion of page 7 it is stated that no weaver can hope to run the additional three looms during the absence of a fellow worker. We actually provide spare men to bring the beam and weft to the loom and take away cloth, in addition to a spare weaver in each two sections to attend to smashes and tend the looms during the temporary absence of a weaver. Incidentally I might mention that we have on many occasions found weavers tending six looms during the absence of a worker without any apparent ill-effect.

" We claim to have eased the position for the weaver by the provision of better material supplied to the loom in better form and are convinced that under conditions such as we provide in the Manchester and Apollo Mills, that a capable weaver can mind 6 looms.

* * * * * * *

" We have provided good humidity, extra strong yarn from superior mixings, bigger supplies of weft, special sizing, help to the weaver in the shape of assistance in taking weft to the loom and bringing cloth from the loom and other minor improvements which, when combined with the fact that only standard plain cloths are produced, make it possible for a skilled weaver to mind not three but up to six looms. We agree that this is impossible under conditions existing in the majority of weaving sheds in Bombay, but with the advent of intense specialisation, there is no reason why more looms should not be tended."

288. We are satisfied that, where the system is now worked in the Bombay mills that have adopted it, steps of this kind have been taken. Our observation at a personal visit to a mill, where the new system was working, did not lead us to think that it entailed undue strain on the operatives concerned. There is in fact some evidence before us that operatives, when they have the option of looking after more spindles or machines at an increased wage, have voluntarily offered to do the increased work, and this is corroborated by the objection taken in the Seventeen Demands to this being done without the approval of the workers' organisation (see paragraph 155). We do not therefore think that this objection has been sustained. Nor was it urged before us by Mr. Bakhale in his summing up. On the contrary he said that he felt that rationalisation of this kind was inevitable under the existing conditions of competition.

289. The objections that he raised were of a different kind. He laid stress mainly on the loss of employment entailed by the adoption of the scheme and contended that the scheme should be held to be unfair, unless certain conditions were fulfilled. These are :—

ALLEGED CONDITIONS PRECEDENT.

1. There should be State control, *i.e.*, nationalisation of the industry.
2. Combination amongst the employers, so as to make the scheme of " Rationalisation " as successful as possible.
3. Concentration in the industry, so as to reduce the costs of production and enable mills here effectively to compete with upcountry mills.
4. The adoption of proper measures to meet the unemployment entailed, such as an Unemployment Insurance Scheme, Labour Exchanges, and absorption of unemployed, if not in the same industry, at least in other ones.

290. As to the first of these conditions, the question of nationlisation cannot properly be considered by us for the reasons given in paragraph 192, and it is to be noted that an elaborate scheme for nationalisation of the coal mining industry was rejected by the Royal Commission on the Coal Industry (1925)*.

291. The second condition is, we take it, one for some amalgamation among employers, such as we have suggested in paragraph 206. It cannot, however, be regarded as a condition precedent to the introduction of

* See Chapter 6 of the Report.

the scheme. Similarly the third condition, which we understand to amount to simultaneous and concerted action, is one that does not appear to us to be an essential preliminary to its adoption. In fact it would, in our opinion, be more conducive to alleviation of consequent unemployment to have a *gradual* adoption of the scheme by the mills and not its *simultaneous* adoption by all. As to the fourth condition, it can no doubt be contended that the adoption of the scheme on a wide scale by most or all of the Bombay mills, should be deferred until proper measures to meet consequent unemployment are desired, especially as a Labour Commission is shortly to visit India and will presumably enquire into questions connected with unemployment and the feasibility of adopting measures such as have been taken in Great Britain. But in our opinion there is no sufficient ground for saying that the adoption of the Scheme would be unreasonable unless it is preceded by the establishment of an Unemployment Insurance scheme and of Labour Exchanges, such as exist in other countries. The carrying out of any Recommendations of the Labour Commission on the subject may take years, and meanwhile the progress of the industry, and its ability to meet world competition, would be hindered in an unjustifiable manner. As already pointed out in paragraph 202, the World Economic Conference on Rationalisation held at Geneva in May 1927 favoured the rational organisation of production and distribution, including increase in the efficiency of labour. It did not lay down that it should be introduced only when there was a suitable system of Unemployment Insurance, etc., but said that it must be applied " with the care which is necessary in order, while at the same time continuing the progress of rationalisation, not to injure the legitimate interests of the workers " ; and that " suitable measures should be provided for cases where during the first stage of its realisation it may result in loss of employment or more arduous work." The " suitable measures " referred to must obviously be determined by the circumstances of each case, and cannot reasonably be held to include an Unemployment Insurance Scheme, or other elaborate measures of that kind, in all cases. In the present instance we must have due regard to the fact that in India at present no system of Unemployment Insurance exists, and that it may accordingly be said (as in fact the representatives of the Millowners have contended) that no burden in respect of unemployment can properly be put on Millowners, until the whole subject has been considered by Government and the Legislature, and a proper scheme for Unemployment Insurance drawn up. The only proposal for alleviating the unemployment caused by the scheme that was suggested by them was that with the proper co-operation of labour there would result enough increase in demand to justify the establishment of double-shift working ; but this does not appear to be a likely solution of the problem in the near future, and the Tariff Board in paragraph 70 of their Report (page 145) say that Bombay is a most unsuitable centre for the adoption of this system. In our opinion a *via media* between the two extreme positions taken

PROVISION FOR DEALING WITH UNEMPLOYMENT.

up by the Labour representatives and the Millowners' Association should be feasible and more reasonable than either view.

OPINION OF THE COMMITTEE.

We are of the opinion, for the reasons that we have already given in paragraph 202, that there is some obligation on the Millowners to try and take some steps towards mitigating hardship due to loss of employment caused by the introduction of the "Efficiency" Scheme.

232. Similarly, on the other hand, we are also of opinion that there is an obligation on the Labour representatives to use their best influence with the workers to co-operate with the Millowners in the gradual introduction of efficiency methods for the progress of the industry on which not only the employment of spinners and weavers depends but with which the welfare of the whole community in Bombay is so largely bound up. We are convinced that it is mainly by efficiency methods that the Industry can hope to hold its own against world competition, and we feel it is incumbent on the Labour representatives to participate in this spirit in every possible manner in any steps or scheme for mitigating the hardship of unemployment during the period of transition to efficiency methods. In this connection we are not in a position to estimate accurately the volume of eventual unemployment which may follow if 'Rationalisation' proceeds gradually, as we suggest; neither is it easy, in a country where unskilled operatives are mostly agricultural workers and can resort to agriculture, to gauge real unemployment, in the sense in which the term is understood in industrial countries. We have some indication of the effect of the scheme from the statement of Mr. Stones, that in the Sassoon group, composed of nine mills, a total of about 5,100 men were retrenched from a muster of approximately 27,000, as a result of the introduction of the efficiency system during the last three years. It must be observed that this does not necessarily mean that every one out of the 5,100 men has remained on the unemployment list, although it must be recognised that there must have been some hardship caused to a portion of them—particularly the skilled workers—during the waiting period before they found some employment. It is to meet such cases, and with a view to avoid delay in the settlement of this question pending the Report of the forthcoming Royal Commission on Labour and any action thereon by the State, that we make, though not without considerable diffidence, the following suggestions for certain tentative measures for the consideration of the Millowners and the Trade Union Leaders.

RECOMMENDATIONS OF COMMITTEE FOR ALEVIATING CONSEQUENT UNEMPLOYMENT.

1. The Millowners should set up some machinery for taking note of all cases where workers are discharged on account of reduction of staff, and help them as far as possible to get suitable employment either in some other mill or in some other industry. This would to some extent correspond to the survey and co-operation that were recognised by some of the Unemployment Insurance Committee of 1925 in England, who say*:—"The time has come when every industry should be invited to co-operate in a systematic effort to survey its own unemployment

* Report of the Unemployment Insurance Committee, Volume 1, page 25.

problem and its own supply of labour. In certain trades arrangements already exist between employers and Trade Unions for the filling of vacancies and for the transfer of labour. It is not suggested that these relations should be disturbed ; rather that they should be developed and become an integral and effective part of the Employment Exchange system. If each of the great industries were thus to consider its own problem it would be possible to see how far labour which is surplus and redundant in one branch of industry can be turned to account in another branch." It is also sometimes done in the United States of America. Thus Philip Klein in the "Burden of Unemployment" (1923) at page 144 says that, when the International Harvester Company had to adopt a series of emergency and relief measures in 1921-22 and reduce its personnel, " Employment managers acted to a limited extent as agencies for securing work elsewhere for as many of these laid-off men as possible."

2. The Millowners' Association should consider the feasibility of a scheme for the payment of a gratuity to a worker, which may amount to say, four weeks' or six weeks' wages according to his length of service, payable in suitable cases of discharged employees, who may need help during the waiting period while they are seeking employment. With this view, we suggest the formation of what we may call an " Out-of-work Donation Fund " on a voluntary basis, to be created by a system of setting aside a contribution by the Millowners of one anna per operative per month (which means virtually a contribution from the shareholders), to which fund the Operatives through their Representatives should be invited to contribute one anna or at least half-anna per head per month. As there are about 150,000 operatives in the textile trade in Bombay, we expect this will yield on the one anna basis about Rs. 18,750 per month, *i.e.*, Rs. 2,25,000 per year, or in the case of the half anna basis about Rs. 14,000 per month, or Rs. 1,68,000 per year. We have reason to believe that such a small contribution will not be felt a burden in the case of the workers, especially by the weavers, whose wages are about Rs. 50 per month. This Fund could be administered in consultation with the Labour Leaders through the Joint Committee to be set up, or through a separate Committee if necessary for this special purpose. Rules for the administration of this Fund can be framed by the Committee, and the position reviewed from time to time as " Rationalisation " proceeds.

In the case of the Millowners, this contribution will involve a burden of about Rs. 125 on an average per mill per month, and such a small addition to the monthly wages bill of each mill, will, in our opinion, be a wise investment and a good price for eventual prosperity and improvement of the trade. A deliberate adoption of a system that will lead to considerable unemployment, makes it reasonable that the persons adopting it should do something to give financial help to the discharged worker in the manner we suggest, and this will be in accordance with the recommendation in the Resolution of the World Economic Conference, which we have already cited. We do not mean to suggest any general principle beyond that mentioned in that recommendation and

we make this suggestion tentatively, pending any proposals on the subject that may be made by the forthcoming Royal Commission.

3. Care should be taken by the Millowners to see that the scheme is introduced gradually as regards the reduction of staff, so that the consequent unemployment may be spread over a period of time and not caused suddenly. This will also enable sufficient notice to be given to operatives, so that they could seek other employment.

4. Pending the full introduction of the scheme, a mill might follow what is a common practice in the reeling and winding departments, *viz.*, employ more hands than are required, so that the workers, who do not do a full day's work, get a reduced wage. This is preferred by them on the principle of " Half a loaf is better than no bread ". As an instance in point, we may refer to the so-called Railway Redundancy Agreement* in England, under which the Railway Companies agreed to " aim at finding employment for as many men as possible in the respective grades, on the basis of so distributing the available work amongst the men in each grade as to yield on broad lines, an actual weekly earning equivalent to three days' pay at ordinary rate."

293. The above suggestions are intended to be mainly preliminary to any large extension of the " Efficiency " System likely to result in a considerable amount of unemployment, and we realize that the Association may prefer to wait for the recommendations of the forthcoming Labour Commission on the subject before taking any active steps in this direction. But we hope that the first two of these, at any rate, may be started without delay, as an earnest of the Association's desire to help discharged operatives to get other employment, and to further any properly-designed scheme for alleviating unemployment. We are confident that the Millowners in Bombay will not endeavour to extend the " Efficiency " System without due regard to the necessity of taking such measures as may legitimately be required from them towards this end.

OPINION OF THE COMMITTEE REGARDING THE SYSTEM.

294. We, therefore, consider that the general objections of the Labour representatives to the existence and extension of the " Efficiency " Scheme at present working in some mills in Bombay are insufficient to justify this being held to be unfair and unreasonable. We hold that the system is a fair and reasonable one, provided it is accompanied by conditions for assisting and simplifying the work of the operatives concerned, such as exist in those mills. This proviso is, in our opinion, of the utmost importance, and we understand it to be conceded by the Millowners. Now that provision has been made for a Joint Committee, it should be easier to have any complaint that may arise as to defective material or machinery investigated without delay and settled, especially if our recommendation about the Trade Unions employing a Technical expert adviser (see paragraph 285) is carried out. A consequential condition, which we also understand to be conceded by the Millowners' Association, is that, where the earnings of an operative are diminished on account of any undue defects in material or machinery, he

* Agreement dated 21st May 1926 between the Railway Companies and the Railway Trade Unions.

should be compensated by some extra allowance, until provision is made for remedying the defect. In this connection we may refer to an agreement of May 5th, 1892, between the Federation of Master Cotton Spinners and the Amalgamated Operative Spinners' Association in Lancashire which was in the following terms :—

* " Where bad work is proved, the employers agree that, it shall be an admitted principle that the men shall be entitled to compensation for loss in wages until the grievance is removed.

" Should there be no loss in wages, but the work is proved to be bad, then the firm involved shall make such alterations in the speed or material as may in the opinion of the investigators be required to meet the case.

" Any loss in wages resulting from such temporary reduction in speed shall be covered to such an extent as the two Associations shall decide."

295. We next come to a consideration of the wages proposed under the two schemes " A " and " B." This involves at the outset the question, what portion of the saving to the Millowners that results from the introduction of the system, should go in the form of extra wages to the worker for his additional work. The Joint Strike Committee in their written statement about the three-loom and two-frame systems say on this point :—

CONSIDERATION OF WAGES.

PROPORTION OF SAVINGS FOR WORKER.

" The workers who are asked to follow the new systems rightly contend that the profits resulting from the system should not be appropriated by the Millowners, and that all the profits except such portion of them as is due to the owners on account of the additional investment made and expenses incurred by them which are not covered by the depreciation fund, should go to the workers, to whose additional labour the increased output is due."

Mr. Bakhale in his summing-up put the Labour view as being that the worker is entitled to the full amount of this saving for the extra work involved, unless the employer has spent something in improving the machinery or in any other direction. It is difficult to see how there could be any advantage to the industry in the way of decreasing the costs of production such as was contemplated by the Tariff Board, if this principle were accepted; and it is an extreme view which no doubt appeals to the worker, but which does not appear to be encouraged by responsible writers on the Trade Unionist side. Thus Mr. Cole in " The Payment of Wages " at pages 27 and 28 says :—

" There is, moreover, a further moral question of importance arising in this connection. Ought the results of improved machinery or works organisation or better material or methods of doing a job

* Collective Agreements between Employers and Workpeople (1910), page 147.

to go to employer or to workman? Many of the same arguments occur in this connection as under the second heading. The employer who believes in the wage system, *i.e.*, in the morality of purchasing labour power in the labour market at a price determined by supply and demand, will hold that any extra payment over and above the market rate is pure bounty, and that the workman has no claim at all to the product of his industry. Moreover, others who do not take quite this view will argue that in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred the improvement in methods or materials which lighten the job is not the result of Labour's work but of some person's inventive capacity, and that not the workman but the employer who acquires the inventor or the invention has a good claim to any increased product that may result. To this the most effective answer would seem to be that it is a dangerous argument for the employer to urge. We may admit that often Labour does not cause the extra productivity, but neither does the employer, and therefore neither of them is entitled to the benefit, or disentitled to it, on that ground. The introduction of a labour-saving device into a particular occupation *does not, on profound moral principles, entitle the workers concerned to the full benefit of the change,* but it certainly does entitle them to share in that benefit, and their claim to a share is as good as that of the consuming public and far stronger than that of the employer."

Similarly, Webb's "Industrial Democracy" at page 289 says:—

"So effectually is the cotton spinner secured by his piece-work lists against being compelled to give more work without more pay, that it has been found desirable deliberately to concede to the employers, by lowering the rates as the number of spindles increases, some share of the resulting advantages, in order that the Trade Union may encourage enterprising millowners in the career of improvement."

The fact is that under the improved conditions that are provided in the few mills, where the "Efficiency" systems are now working, the work of the operative cannot properly be said to be doubled, and the institution of the improved conditions almost necessarily involves extra expense on the Millowner. This was very well brought out by Mr. Cursetji M. Sutaria, Manager of the Swadeshi Mills, in answer to a question about the proportionate increase that a three or four-loom weaver should get, as follows:—

"I think 50 per cent. of the third-loom wage ought to go to the weaver, and the remaining 50 or 40 per cent. to the company. I will tell you why. You want superior cotton, and that means extra expense to the company. You want greater length of pirn and that means additional machinery, additional buildings and additional power for it. Then you require very good humidification and ventilation, so that the weaver may not sweat. That means extra expense to the company. Then you have to provide for depreciation and interest charges. I think 50 per cent. to the weaver is fair, and the remaining 50 or even 40 per cent. should go to the millowner."

296. The wages proposed to be allowed to a three-loom and four-loom weaver in the two mills of the Sassoon Group, where weaving is done under this system, in fact approximate to this proportion of 50 per cent. A three-loom weaver is to get 82 per cent. of the total earnings from the three looms computed on the basis of the Mill-owners' Standardisation List, *i.e.*, he will receive 46 per cent. of the earnings of the third loom. A four-loom weaver is to get 75 per cent. of the total earnings from the four looms, *i.e.*, he will receive 50 per cent. of the earnings of the third and fourth looms. Similarly a ratio of 50 per cent. is allowed in the case of Drawing Frames, where two men are put to three heads instead of the usual three men to three heads, and each man is given 25 per cent. over the standard rate, and in the case of Roving Tenters looking after two Roving Frames on coarse counts. This ratio, however, is much higher than the corresponding one allowed for a Roving Tenter on double frames under the Lancashire " Oldham List," which is only about 30 per cent., and it cannot reasonably be said that a ratio of 50 per cent. is a proper one in all cases, for to do so may raise the costs of production so high as to defeat the object of the introduction of the Scheme, which is to enable the Bombay mills to cheapen production and so maintain their position against world-wide competition. This is an important consideration, which in our opinion may justify a lower ratio in other cases. We notice that in the United States it is said that the number of looms attended to by one weaver has been more than doubled, with only a ten per cent. increase in wages.* The reduction of the ratio in the case of a Roving Tenter on finer Counts and of a Ring Frame Tenter on more than 300 spindles does not go as far as that, the lowest percentage for a Rover being 20 per cent. and for a Ring Frame Tenter 37 per cent. These ratios do not seem to us to be unreasonable.

OPINION AS TO ACTUAL WAGES PROPOSED.

297. In the Blow Room, one Scutcher is put on two machines instead of the usual one man to one machine, and his wages are raised from Rs. 16 *plus* 70 per cent. to Rs. 21 *plus* 70 per cent. He, therefore, gets an increase of about 31 per cent. A Lattice Feeder looking after two machines gets Rs. 19 *plus* 70 per cent. while one looking after one machine gets Rs. 15 *plus* 70 per cent., an increase of about 27 per cent. These ratios seem to us reasonable. In the Card Room a Team system, on similar lines to the English system, has been introduced, splitting the cards into sections of 30 cards of three preparations. In these Teams Grinders and Strippers, as such, are eliminated, and the duties are interchangeable. In regard to them, Mr. Bakhale in his summing up on the subject only drew attention to two points, *viz.*, (1) the difference in wages paid to the Fly Gatherers and Lap Carriers in the two systems; and (2) the difference between the wage-bills in the two systems, amounting to about Rs. 156 in favour of the " B " system. As to the first point, it is true that the " B " system pays Rs. 2 more to a Lap Carrier or Fly Gatherer than the " A " system allows, although the number of Cards looked after by the Team is higher in the latter than in the former case; but it was explained to us that in the " B " system

* International Cotton Bulletin of November 1928, page 12.

the Team has the additional duty of setting the Cards, whereas in the "A" system the Assistant Jobber is assigned that duty. The basic wage of Rs. 16 and Rs. 18 respectively is higher than that of Rs. 15 which has been agreed on as that of a Lap Carrier or Fly Gatherer in the Standardisation Scheme. We do not therefore think that there is anything substantial in this objection. As to the second point there is a difference in the two Team systems employed for the Card Rooms, and that of E. D. Sassoon and Company is undoubtedly cheaper than the other. We cannot merely on that account hold that the wages given by the former require revision. They are higher than those agreed to for Card Room operatives under the Standardisation Scheme, except that Flat Grinders are paid the same basic wages, *viz.*, Rs. 16-8-0 for attending to one machine and Rs. 18 for two machines, as compared with Rs. 32 under the "B" system. This was explained as being due to a difference of opinion as to the skill of a Flat Grinder compared with that of a Stripper, who gets Rs. 20 under the "B" system, and Rs. 26 as a Front or Back Jobber under the "A" system. Whichever may be the better view, the Standardisation wages paid by E. D. Sassoon and Company cannot be said to be unreasonable, as the work is the same as that done under the Standardisation Scheme. It is true that the wages in the Blow Room and Card Room have not been increased as much as in other departments, but it was pointed out that in those departments the Millowners had spent large sums of money in improving the arrangements. Thus in the written statement of the Millowners' Association, which is reproduced in Appendix XII, it is stated that in the Blow Room the old plant was scrapped and replaced by two Exhaust and four Finisher Scutchers, and in the Card Room the Cards in the mill were completely overhauled and in case of doubt of the quality of the Card Fillet the Card was entirely reclothed. It was also said that more money has to be spent in the supply of good quality of cotton for the working of the "Efficiency" system. We are not prepared to say that the wages proposed in those two departments, which are equal to or higher than those of the Standardisation Scheme, are too low.

298. Mr. Bakhale raised another point that the wages of the Head Jobber and Line Jobber in the Ring Frame Department were insufficient, having regard to the increased number of spindles to be looked after. The increase of basic pay is Rs. 15 and the number of spindles to be looked after is nearly doubled. But the number of employees to be looked after will be very nearly the same. In any case, as stated in Note 5 to the Spinning and Weaving Lists, the number and pay of Head Jobbers are entered only for guidance, and these men are outside the Scheme. Mr. Stones also stated that his firm are working for the elimination of Head Jobbers and Line Jobbers and replacing them by trained men, who have served an apprenticeship course at the Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute. The question, therefore, is not of material importance.

CONCLUSION OF THE COMMITTEE.

299. The result is that we accept the "Efficiency" Scheme as fair and reasonable.

CHAPTER VIII.

SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.

MAIN CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.

300. The general result of our enquiry is that we regard the proposals of the Millowners' Association (*a*) for Standardisation of wages, duties and numbers of operatives in a mill (paragraphs 197 to 204 and 294 to 299), and (*b*) for Standing Orders for the operatives about the conditions of their employment (paragraph 126), as being in the main fair and reasonable. On the other hand we consider that, while there is justification for the Associations' proposal to make a cut of 7½ per cent. in weavers' wages, which is discussed in Chapter V, there are reasonable objections to be urged against its adoption in the present circumstances, and we recommend that it should be dropped by the Association, provided the Labour leaders undertake to co-operate in working the Standardisation Scheme (paragraph 239).

STANDARDISATION SCHEMES—CHAPTERS IV TO VII.

301. The main Standardisation Scheme, which was put forward by the Association on the 4th October 1928, was considerably modified as a result of meetings that took place between Sub-Committees of the Association and the Joint Strike Committee in January and February 1929, and this modified Scheme has been accepted by the Joint Strike Committee, subject to some general objections and some qualifications (paragraphs 188 and 266). Some general questions connected with the Scheme are considered in Chapter IV, and the disputed points in Chapter VI. We hold that the Scheme, as modified, is fair and reasonable (paragraphs 196 and 197), with a few minor alterations on some points of difference between the parties (paragraphs 268, 272, 273, 277, 278, 280, and 281A), but this is subject to such revision of the part of the Scheme that regulates the wages of weavers as may be necessary to prevent a cut of 7½ per cent. in their wages, if our recommendation on this point in paragraph 239 is adopted. It is also subject to such further revision as may be shown to be necessary by experience on some points (paragraphs 274, 281, and 281B). Furthermore, the Scheme itself reserves various matters for subsequent standardisation, and it is proposed to revise it after a few months' trial. With this object and that of avoiding strikes and lock-outs, machinery has been provided by the "Mediation Rules", agreed to by both sides for setting up Joint Committees to enquire into disputes arising under the Scheme and to endeavour to arrange for settlement (paragraphs 198 and 282). The part of the Standardisation Scheme, which is called the "Rational" or "Efficiency" System, and which aims at reducing the number of operatives employed in mills, while raising their wages and providing conditions favourable for the extra efficiency expected from the operatives, is also held by us to be fair and reasonable (paragraph 299).

STANDING ORDERS—CHAPTER II.

302. Some proposals for amending and adding to the Standing Orders that were presented by the Millowners' Association on the 4th October 1928 were made before us by the Association on 15th January 1929 (paragraph 23). In Chapter II, we have considered, these as well as the original Standing Orders, and prepared a draft of the amended Standing Orders in the form in which we consider them to be fair and reasonable (Appendix III). The main alterations we propose are as follows :—

(1) The finality of the order of a manager or of the Managing Agents should be without prejudice to any right of an operative affected by his or their decision to resort to legal proceedings in a Court of law (paragraph 31).

(2) The Standing Orders should not be altered without the previous consultation of, and consideration of objections by, the operatives or their representatives (paragraphs 35 and 36).

(3) A rule should be added about granting leave (paragraph 57).

(4) A rule should be inserted as to the method of calculating wages (paragraph 68).

(5) The right to " play-off " for trade purposes should be restricted to a period of two days at a time (paragraph 73).

(6) An operative who is " played-off " for a period longer than a week should be permitted to leave the Company's service on intimation of his intention without further notice (paragraph 75).

(7) A rule should be added entitling an operative to compensation for detention in a mill for over an hour in the event of stoppage of work owing to breakdown of machinery, etc. (paragraphs 76 to 78).

(8) The period of notice for termination of employment should be reduced to 14 days (paragraphs 79 to 82).

(9) A rule should be added as to payment of unclaimed wages (paragraph 91).

303. The principal discussions in Chapter II are on the following points :—

(1) As to the advisability of an extra morning recess ; we have agreed with the Tariff Board as to its advisability and have suggested it being tried as an experiment in suitable mills with a reduction of the working hours to 9½ (paragraphs 40 to 42).

(2) As to exempting weavers from taking out and presenting attendance tickets ; we have held that there is no sufficient reason to exempt them (paragraphs 49 to 52).

(3) As to the liability of operatives to be searched ; we have held this to be reasonable (paragraphs 62 to 66).

(4) As to payment of wages being made earlier than at present ; we have recommended an attempt to pay them by the 10th of each month (paragraph 67).

(5) As to the legality and fairness of " playing-off " ; we have held that there is no objection to this in the case of stoppages due to causes for which the employer is not responsible, but that it should be restricted to a period not exceeding two days at a time in the case of " playing-off " for trade purposes (paragraphs 69 to 74).

(6) As to the legality and fairness of forfeiture of wages for leaving without due notice; we have answered this in the affirmative (paragraphs 87 to 90).

(7) As to the legality of operatives striking work without notice or inciting others to do so; we have held that this can rightly be treated as misconduct rendering an operative liable to dismissal (paragraphs 99 to 102).

(8) As to the proposed abolition of fines; pending the decision of the Legislature we have rejected this proposal (paragraphs 45 and 109 to 112).

(9) As to the compulsory purchase by weavers of spoilt cloth; we have held that its compulsory purchase is objectionable, and have suggested a rule on the subject to restrict this present practice within reasonable limits (paragraphs 116 to 120).

304. The "Seventeen Demands" are discussed in Chapter III, and we have held that Nos. 3*, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16 and 17 are fair and reasonable. All of these except 12 and 13 were eventually conceded by the Millowners' Association. Nos. 8 and 11 have been held by us to be unfair and unreasonable and the remaining three, *viz.*, Nos. 1, 2 and 7, have been held by us to be partly fair and reasonable, and partly not.

SEVENTEEN DEMANDS—CHAPTER III.

305. The principal discussions in Chapter III are as to Demands numbers 2, 8, 11 and 12, and the opinions of the Committee may be summarised as follows:

(1) *No. 2.*—Employees in Mechanics' Shops have established a uniform practice of working for only 8½ hours a day; and in standardising their wages on the basis of a ten hours' day; a *pro rata* increase should be given in any wage based on what they got for 8½ hours' work a day. On the other hand, other employees, who now work for less than 10 hours a day in some mills, such as Warpers and Sizers, have not established such a uniform practice, and the demand that there should be no increase in their daily hours without paying overtime rates cannot be justified as fair and reasonable (paragraphs 149 and 150).

(2) *No. 8.*—In this enquiry we should not be justified in importing the principle of a minimum wage to the extent demanded, *viz.*, the fixing of a definite standard of Rs. 30 below which the wages of no mill-operative in Bombay should fall, and we should confine ourselves to seeing that there is no diminution in the wages of operatives who have been hitherto getting a low pay, and that relief is given in those cases where they are unduly low (paragraph 163). The principle of equality of pay for males and females cannot properly be applied in this enquiry, and we should not be justified in going beyond seeing that the lowest pay of a woman under the Standardisation Scheme is sufficient to enable her to maintain herself, without dependents (paragraph 166). The wages proposed for male and female sweepers

* As subsequently modified.

in the Standardisation Scheme are not unduly low (paragraphs 163 and 168).

(3) *No. 11.*—The complaint about a daily partial cleaning by a weaver of his two looms by brushing away the fluff that accumulates is unreasonable (paragraph 138).

(4) *No. 12.*—On the whole we favour the proposal to consolidate the existing high prices allowance with the original wages, subject to the understanding that this will not affect any prospective revision of wages according to the cost of living (paragraphs 179 and 180).

UNEMPLOYMENT.

306. We have considered the question of unemployment resulting from the Standardisation and "Efficiency" Schemes in Chapters IV and VII (paragraphs 202 to 204 and 291 to 293). In paragraph 292 we have made some suggestions for action by the Millowners' Association and the workers and their representatives towards alleviating unemployment, pending the carrying out of any recommendations that may be made by the proposed Royal Commission on Labour questions.

TECHNICAL EXPERT.

307. In paragraph 285 we have recommended that the Textile Trade Unions should combine to arrange for the assistance of an expert Technical adviser in dealing with disputes arising under the Standardisation Scheme.

WAGE CUT—CHAPTER V.

308. In Chapter V, which discusses the proposed Wage-cut, we have made a suggestion that possible economies in management might be effected by an amalgamation of mills such as recently took place in Lancashire, or by a less extensive scheme for a combination to regulate the production of certain classes of goods, and their export and sale (paragraph 206). On the other hand we have rejected the contention that the wage-cut is unjustifiable because all possible economies in management have not been effected (paragraph 206), or because the Millowners failed to make proper provision in boom times for a future depression in the industry such as now exists (paragraph 207). We have held, after a survey of statistical and other information, that while there has been some improvement in the condition of the mill industry during the years 1926-27 and 1927-28, and the prospect is more hopeful than it was in the antecedent period, the depression in the industry is still undoubtedly prevalent (paragraph 228). We have further held :—

(1) If the proposed cut in weavers' wages is otherwise fair and reasonable, the state of the industry supports this method of obtaining a decrease in the costs of production ; on the other hand it cannot be said to be shown that the state of the industry imperatively demands the anticipated annual saving of about 14 lakhs of Rupees by this method (paragraph 229).

(2) There are grounds for saying that the rise in the weaver's wage since 1914 is much higher than the rise in the cost of living (paragraph 232) and that the weavers' wages have risen in a higher proportion (at least 10 per cent.) than those of other male operatives (paragraph 233) ; but objections can be urged against making a cut in view of

the fact that their wages have remained at the same level for nearly 8 years and the fall in the cost of living has remained substantially at the present level since the beginning of 1923 (paragraph 232).

(3) The disparity between the weaver's wage and that of the spinner exists in some other countries; and the case of Japan, which was cited by the Tariff Board, is on a somewhat different footing to that of Bombay (paragraphs 234 to 236). Its extent in Bombay is not exceptional in India and it is even higher in some places (paragraph 237).

(4) Such a disparity is consonant with the extra skill required of a weaver, but its percentage increase is higher than that existing in most countries, and it can therefore be said to be excessive (paragraph 237).

(5) Though there are, thus, conflicting arguments that can be urged for and against the proposal (paragraph 238), we have held it on the whole to be justifiable (paragraph 239).

(6) In view, however, of the necessity for the full co-operation of the Labour leaders in working the new Standardisation Scheme, we have suggested that the proposal should be dropped (paragraph 239).

"EFFICIENCY" SYSTEM—CHAPTER VII.

309. In Chapter VII we have discussed some points that have been raised in connection with the "Efficiency" System. We have held that the objection taken by the Joint Strike Committee that it imposes an undue strain on the operatives concerned has not been sustained and that the improved conditions essential for the proper working of the system are fulfilled in the case of the mills that have adopted it in Bombay (paragraph 287). We have also held the contention that the adoption of the scheme should be deferred until the establishment of an Unemployment Insurance Scheme, and other similar steps for alleviating unemployment have been effected by Government and the Legislature, to be unreasonable (paragraph 291); but as already mentioned we have made tentative suggestions on this point (paragraph 292). We have discussed the question of the proportion of the savings from the increased efficiency that should go to the worker, and have held that the proposals in the scheme in regard to this are reasonable (paragraphs 295 to 297). We have also rejected objections that were raised as to the wages of some of the operatives (paragraph 297).

SCOPE AND UTILITY OF THE ENQUIRY.

310. We have endeavoured to deal comprehensively, and at the same time concisely, with all the wide points that are involved in the questions referred to us for opinion, but we are conscious that we may have failed to notice in our report some of the arguments raised before us. It would, however, have made it unduly long to deal with everything that was discussed at our sittings, and we believe we have dealt with all the important points. We hope our report will be of utility, not only to the Mill-owners and the workers and their representatives, but also to Government and the public in aiding them to form a proper opinion upon the disputes, which led to this Enquiry. We think we can claim that both sides were given ample opportunities to place their full cases before us; and even if the Enquiry serves no other useful purpose, it has resulted in the two sides getting nearer an agreement than they were in October 1928.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

311. It only remains for us to record our acknowledgment of the services of those on each side, who so ungrudgingly gave up their time to appearing and working before us. In particular we should mention the names of Mr. S. D. Saklatwala and Mr. F. Stones for the Association and Mr. N. M. Joshi and Mr. R. R. Bakhale for the Joint Strike Committee, on whom the brunt of the work fell. We must in addition place on record our obligations to Mr. Stones for the very lucid way in which he explained the technicalities of the Standardisation Scheme. Our thanks are also due to Mr. J. F. Gennings, Director of the Labour Office, Bombay, and some of his staff for the ready assistance they gave us during our enquiry; to Dr. D. B. Meek, Director-General of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics, Calcutta, for having helped us in the statistical part of Chapter V; and to Mr. J. J. Watson, the Manager of the Government Central Press, and his staff for the expedition and efficiency with which the work connected with the printing of our Report was carried out.

312. In conclusion we wish to express our appreciation of the zealous help, which has been given us by our Secretary, Mr. N. A. Mehrban, whose knowledge of Labour conditions, as an Investigator of the Labour Office, has been of much use to us. He and the staff under him have had heavy work in order to enable our report to be submitted expeditiously.

C. FAWCETT,
Chairman.

M. P. KHAREGHAT,
Member.

B. S. KAMAT,
Member.

N. A. MEHRBAN,
Secretary.

Bombay, the 14th day of March 1929.

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX I

STATEMENT ISSUED BY THE MILLOWNERS' ASSOCIATION CONCERNING THE DEMANDS PUT FORWARD ON BEHALF OF THE WORKERS.

Certain Demands as detailed below have been forwarded to the Bombay Millowners' Association by certain people on behalf of the textile workers in Bombay Mills who, as the public are aware, went on strike without formulating any grievances. The Committee of the Association have considered them carefully and now desire to publish their views. The demands and the Committee's views are given below :—

Proposals made on behalf of Workmen.	*Answers by the Committee of the Millowners' Association.*
1. The present practices resorted to by some millowners which result in the reduction of wages shall be stopped, and reductions and altered conditions already effected since 1925 shall be restored.	As regards this point, in absence of any details of the alleged practices, it is not possible to give any definite reply. The Association will deal with the matter if definite information is supplied.
2. That where the daily hours of work of any class of workers are at present less than 10, the hours shall not be raised to 10, without the consent of the workers concerned expressed through their organisations. When the hours are thus increased, the workmen should be paid for the same at the usual overtime rates.	This, no doubt, refers to the practice which some members of the Association have recently adopted of insisting that the operatives of all departments whether spinning section or weaving section should uniformly work full 10 hours as laid down in the Factories Act. In the interests of discipline the Association must insist that all male operatives should work for full 10 hours a day. Such increased time cannot possibly be paid at overtime rate as this can only come into operation after an operative has actually worked for more than 10 hours, during the day. There can also be no question of a *pro rata* increase in wages as these operatives are already paid wages not only fully equal to but in some cases even higher than those received by workers on a similar class of work who put in full 10 hours. This is a reform which should be undertaken without delay.
3. That the millowners shall not vary any of the present conditions to the disadvantage of the workers before securing the approval of the workers through their organisations.	The Association can never agree that the present conditions shall not be varied without the approval of the workers' organisations for the simple reason that some of the existing practices undoubtedly leave room for improvement. The page of the Tariff Board Report clearly and emphatically point out that conditions must be varied. Besides, the workers' organisations at present are far from fully developed and there is no textile trade union in existence in Bombay that can undertake to enforce its own will on its members, even when an understanding has been effected with the employers.
4. That the Millowners' Association shall not permit its individual members to vary conditions of service to the disadvantage of the workers without the sanction of the Association.	On broad questions of policy, the Association is consulted by its members before making any departure from existing policy, but in minor matters of internal administration discretion is left to individual members.

Demands—contd.	*Answer to Demands*—contd.
5. The rates of new varieties shall be fixed by the Millowners' Association in consultation with the representatives of the workers' organisations.	The rates of wages will be fixed under the new standardisation scheme, and, as the Committee maintain that this is a reform which must be carried out as soon as possible, and also for reasons mentioned in reply to demand 3, the answer to this must be in the negative.
6. Notices in vernacular showing the rates of piecework in detail should be posted in the departments for the information of the workers.	The Committee of the Association agree to notices in vernacular being put up as desired.
7. The system by which each worker is required to look after 3 looms or the whole frame (2 sides) should not be introduced or continued without the consultation and free consent of the workers expressed through their organisations.	No reforms intended to increase the efficiency of workers to the mutual benefit of both the employers and the employees can ever be effected in the textile industry in Bombay if it is stipulated that nothing should be done without the " free consent " of the workers.
8. The wages of those workers whose average monthly wage is less than Rs. 30 shall be raised substantially.	No reason whatever is given for demanding that where the wage is less than Rs. 30 it should be " raised substantially." However, in compiling our standardisation scheme, if wages are found to be unduly low in any cases, same will be duly considered.
9. The rules regarding the forfeiture of wages remaining unclaimed for certain period should be done away with.	Standard rules in connection with unclaimed wages will be drawn up for adoption by the members of the Association.
10. The conditions of employment, work and payment should be standardised.	The Committee of the Association agree that " conditions of employment, work and payment should be standardised." This matter has been already receiving their attention, and a scheme has been prepared.
11. The newly introduced system of compelling the workmen (*a*) to take out and present tickets of attendance and (*b*) to clean the machinery daily should be discontinued.	The demand is tantamount to saying that no attempt should be made to enforce disciplinary measures. Discipline has been so wanting in the past that a new set of rules to be enforced at all mills is being drawn up and will be published shortly.
12. The present high prices allowances should be consolidated with the original wages.	This demand, namely, to consolidate " the present high prices allowance " is on the face of it untenable. This allowance, as its very name implies, is an allowance made on account of the dearness of cost of living since the War, but in view of the fall in the cost of living during recent years, it is impossible to consolidate this allowance at the present high level. The table attached to this will make this point quite clear.

Demands—contd.	*Answer to Demands*—contd.
13. One month's notice must be given by either side before terminating the contract of service.	This is the existing arrangement although it is one-side inasmuch as operatives seldom observe the rule of giving notice. However, it must be made clear that all over the World in the textile trade it is a recognised practice for employers to suspend work on some machines without notice in the event of work being not available. This might occur through shortage of material, or lack of orders, or through any causes beyond the control of the employers.
14. The Millowners' Association should make standard rules for the guidance of its members regarding the grant of leave to their employees.	The question of granting leave on pay to the operatives was considered by the Association in the past, but in view of the high percentage of absenteeism and migratory habits of the workers, it was decided that no such concession could possibly be granted.
15. All the rules that are usually posted in the mills or departments should be standardised by the Mill-owners' Association so that they shall be uniform in all the mills. That none of these rules or regulations shall be such as may deprive the workers of their rights conferred on them by the existing law, goes without saying.	The Committee agree that the rules posted in the mills should be standardised and these have already been formulated and will be published in due course.
16. Employment in the Weaving Department of the mills should be opened to members of the so-called "depressed classes."	Neither the Association nor the employers individually have objected to members of the Depressed Classes working in any department of the mills including weaving. On the contrary, the objection has come from the workers themselves.
17. That there shall be no victimization of men who have taken part in the present dispute, or in their Union activities.	The Committee do not know the reasons for anticipating any victimization either at present or in the future. There was no such victimization in the past.

For Convenience of reference each demand and the numbers of the paragraph or paragraphs dealing with it are given seriatim below :—

No. of Demand	Brief Discription	Paragraph No.
1	Reduction of wages	143
2	Increase of hours of employment	144
3	Consent of Workers' organisations to variation of conditions ..	153
4	Variation as to the conditions of service	134
5	Rates for new varieties of cloth	154
6	Posting of piece-work rates	128-130
7	Consent of Workers' organisations to increase of efficiency ..	155
8	Proposed wage increase	156-170
9	Unclaimed wages	135
10	Standardisation of wages, etc.	143
11	Tickets of attendance and cleaning machinery	137-139
12	Consolidation of high prices allowance with wages	171-180
13	Notice for terminating service	140
14	Leave to employees	142
15	Standardisation of Standing Orders	131
16	Depressed Classes	132
17	Victimisation	133

APPENDIX II

TERMS FORMULATED BY THE BOMBAY MILLOWNERS' ASSOCIATION

(Published on 17th May 1928)

We have already dealt with the demands put forward on behalf of the workers by a body which styles itself the Strike Committee. It is only fair that not only those who purport to speak on behalf of the mill operatives but the public of Bombay should also learn the terms on which alone the operatives can resume work if they are so disposed. This is not the first time the mills workers in Bombay have downed tools suddenly without first bringing any specific grievances before their employers and in the interests of discipline and for the good of the industry it must be brought home to the workers as well as their leaders once and for all that the method they adopt of going on strike first, and then formulating their grievances, is utterly futile and out of date. Reforms with a view to improve the efficiency of labour are badly needed, and strikes or threats of strikes will not deter employers from putting them through. It is well-known that the Industry in Bombay is in a very precarious position. One has only to turn to the table given on page 240 of the Tariff Board Report when it will be seen that the total losses in 1923, 1924 and 1925 came to Rs. 1,28,13,117, Rs. 2,42,77,106 and Rs. 2,87,64,573 respectively. The total loss as shown in the audited statement for 1926 was Rs. 1,95,40,908 . Complete figures for 1927 are not available, but the losses for these four years alone amount to the colossal figure of over Rs. 8¼ crores. If these figures and the various suggestions made by the Tariff Board make anything clear, it is that the workers under no circumstances can be taken back with any hope that the old conditions will be continued.

In the first place, workers will have to accept :—

1. *Standardised Rates of Wages.*—The Tariff Board in Paragraph 65 of their Report lay great stress on this, and rightly so, and as standardisation of wages forms one of the demands put forward on behalf of the men, it is not necessary to labour this point further. A complete scheme is being prepared, but it must be clearly understood that when standardising, a certain amount of equalisation must take place, and the rates of wages of some of the highly paid operatives who at present are obviously getting far more in relation to other workers will have to be brought down. On the other hand, where wages are considered low, they will be increased. The system will be so devised that, in the words of the Tariff Board, " the standardisation of wages throughout the Bombay Industry would tend to strengthen its position. " When standardising rates of wages, it is of course essential to standardise the number of men required for particular work. All spare or supernumerary men who may have been employed in the past will be done away with, or in other words, employers will also insist on,—

2. *Standard Muster Rolls.*—Our next demand is that all male employees should work for full ten-hours a day as laid down in the Factories Act, or

3. *Full ten-hours work for all Male Operatives in all Departments.*—An exception was made in the past in the case of particular departments when all the departments in the mills were running for 12 hours and more. But after the reduction of working hours to ten, there is no excuse for continuing a practice which is at once uneconomical in working and subversive of discipline. There is therefore no justification for giving any *pro-rata* increase in any particular departments but all operatives must be made to work uniformly for 10 hours.

Another matter requiring immediate attention is a uniform set of rules for all mills in connection with disciplinary measures to be enforced on the operatives.

4. *Rules and Regulations for enforcing discipline.*—Such rules exist at all mills at present, but are not uniform nor in many instances properly enforced. A new set of Rules has been framed, and will be put up at all mills in due course. It is interesting to note that apparently, the operatives themselves desire that " conditions of employment, work and payment " should be standardised, as is mentioned in the Demands submitted on behalf of the men.

The chief alterations in the Rules will be the abolition of the present practice of allowing operatives to take meals during working hours. A special half hour recess will be provided for at 9-30 to 10 a.m. for this purpose. In order to make up for the loss of this half-hour, it is proposed that the noon recess be reduced by a quarter of an hour, being from 1 to 1-45 p.m., and the closing time extended by a quarter of an hour.

Similarly, we deem it essential that certain matters which have been the subject of misunderstanding in the past between employers and employees should be clearly defined so that there may be no grounds for any grievance in the future. This has arisen mainly as regards.

5. *Fines and Unclaimed Wages.*—Fines should be imposed in accordance with Rules devised for the purpose, and referred to above as our Demand No. 4. Where faulty cloth is handed over to weavers, this will be left in the hands of some responsible officer not lower in rank than Assistant Weaving Master. All fines recovered will be credited to a welfare fund, or utilised in some way for the benefit of workers. As to unclaimed wages, we have no objection to same being made available to operatives at any time on sufficient identification.

Another matter which falls under this head is the method of calculating the total amount of wages.

6. *Uniform system of calculating the total amount of Wages.*—Wages will be calculated to actual pies and percentage calculated on pies as well, but if the total amount shows 5 pies or less, then the amount will be reduced to the next lower anna, or, if 6 pies and above, then the amount will be raised to the next higher anna.

We now proceed to briefly summarise what has been stated above so as to make the whole position absolutely clear.

The main condition is that workers must definitely give up the unreasonable attitude which their so-called Leaders have asked them to adopt of not only being re-instated in their former places on the same terms and conditions as before, but of even demanding new terms most of which are of an impossible character. The men having struck work without even laying their grievances before individual employers have broken their contract under which they were engaged, and having been paid off are deemed to have been dismissed. They can only be re-engaged if they unequivocally agree to accept the following :—

(1) Standardised rates of wages as described above.

(2) Revised and standardised muster rolls.

(3) Full ten hours work for all male operatives in all departments without claiming any extra remuneration, to which they are not entitled, where work was being done for less time previously.

(4) Revised set of Rules and Regulations with a view to enforce stricter discipline than obtained in the past.

(5) Disposal of fines and unclaimed wages as indicated above.

(6) Uniform system of calculating wages.

We hope that labour will still have the good sense to face facts and not cause further unnecessary hardship to themselves by persisting in following their present line of action.

APPENDIX III.

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT SHOWING THE STANDING ORDERS AS PRESENTED BY THE MILLOWNERS' ASSOCIATION AT THE CONFERENCE OF THE 4TH OCTOBER 1928 AND THESE ORDERS AS AMENDED BY THE COMMITTEE IN THE FORM IN WHICH THE COMMITTEE CONSIDER THEY MAY BE APPROVED AS FAIR AND REASONABLE.

(Some new Orders subsequently presented by the Association to the Committee during their discussions are printed in italics.)

Millowners' Draft.	*Committee's Draft.*
THE (MILL COMPANY) LIMITED.	THE (MILL COMPANY) LIMITED.
STANDING ORDERS FOR OPERATIVES	STANDING ORDERS FOR OPERATIVES.
1. These Orders shall come into force as and from the 1928.	1. These Orders shall come into force as and from the 1929.
2. "Operatives" means all work-people male or female employed in the mill and includes "Jobbers." "The Company" means The (Mill Company) Limited. "The Manager" means the Company's Manager or Acting Manager for the time being. Masculine includes feminine.	2. In these Orders, unless there is anything repugnant in the subject or context, (*a*) "Operatives" means all work-people male or female employed in the mill and includes "Jobbers"; (*b*) "The Company" means The (Mill Company) Limited; (*c*) "The Manager" means the Company's Manager or Acting Manager for the time being; and (*d*) Masculine includes feminine.
3. The decision of the Manager upon any question arising out of, in connection with, or incidental to these Orders shall be final, subject however to appeal to the Managing Agents.	3. The decision of the Manager upon any question arising out of, in connection with, or incidental to these Orders shall be final, subject however to appeal to the Managing Agents and without prejudice to any right of an operative aggrieved by his or their decision to resort to legal proceedings in a court of law.
4. The Company may, on one month's prior notice, add to or alter these Orders or substitute new Orders or any new Order and any such addition, alteration or substitution shall be as binding on the operatives as if originally incorporated in these Orders. Such notice to be posted prior to the last day of the month.	4. (Omitted here and placed as Standing Order 22.)
5. The Mill will work each day for such number of hours as the Manager may from time to time fix in accordance with the Factories Act.	5. The Mill will work each day for such number of hours (not ordinarily exceeding ten) as the Manager may from time to time fix in accordance with the Factories Act.

Millowners' Draft.	*Committee's Draft.*
6. Notice of the time of beginning and ending work will be posted on the Board outside the Time-Keeper's Office. The hours of work for adult operatives until further notice will be as follows:— 7 a.m. to 9-30 a.m. 9-30 a.m. to 10 a.m. Recess. 10 a.m. to 1 p.m. 1 p.m. to 1-45 p.m. Recess. 1-45 p.m. to 6-15 p.m. (This is subject to the approval of the Factory Inspector and the consent of the operatives.) Operatives attending late are liable to be shut out and treated as absent, but may be admitted on payment of a fine. Operatives shall only take their food at the Recess Times. Any break of this Order will incur dismissal.	6. Notice of the time of beginning and ending work will be posted on the Board outside the Time-Keeper's Office. The present hours of work for adult operatives are as follows:— 7 a.m. to 12 noon. 12 noon to 1 p.m. (Recess). 1 p.m. to 6 p.m. Provided that, with the approval of the Factory Inspector and the consent of the operatives or their representatives, these hours may be modified so as to allow of a morning recess in addition to the mid-day one. Operatives attending late are liable to be shut out and treated as absent, but may be admitted on payment of a fine. When a morning recess is provided, operatives shall take their food only at the Recess Times, and any breach of this Order will render the offender liable to be punished for misconduct under Orders 17 and 18.
7. Each operative without exception will be provided with a departmental ticket showing his number, name and occupation, and on attendance each day shall deliver up the ticket at the place provided.	7. *Same as the Millowners' Draft.*
8. Any operative who, after presenting his ticket, is found absent from his post without leave without sufficient cause is liable to be treated as absent without leave. Any operative who desires to obtain leave of absence must apply previously to the Head of his Department or any officer appointed by the Manager for this purpose.	8. Any operative who after presenting his ticket is found absent from his proper place or places of work without leave or other sufficient excuse is liable to be treated as absent without leave. Any operative who desires to leave his work, except for a temporary purpose within the mill premises, must apply previously in accordance with Order 8-A.
New Order *When on an application for special leave, leave exceeding one day and not exceeding two months is granted to an operative, the period of leave granted shall be stated in writing by the head of his department. In the event of an operative taking leave in excess of the period granted, he shall lose all rights to reinstatement unless he has previously secured permission in writing to extend the leave originally granted and returns to work on the first working day following the period covered by any such extension.*	8-A. Any operative who desires to obtain leave of absence must apply previously to the Head of his Department or any officer appointed by the Manager for this purpose, who, if he thinks fit, may grant him leave for a period not exceeding two months. If the leave granted exceeds one day, the officer granting it shall keep a record of its grant, and give the operative a written and signed certificate as to the period of leave granted to him. In the event of an operative taking leave in excess of the period granted he shall lose all his rights to reinstatement, unless he has previously secured written permission to extend the leave originally granted and returns to work on the first working day following the period covered by any such extension, or unless on his return to work he gives a satisfactory explanation for his omission to apply for such an extension and the extension is retrospectively sanctioned.

Millowners' Draft.	*Committee's Draft.*
9. Operatives will be classed as (1) Probationary and (2) Permanent. A Probationary operative is one who is provisionally engaged for the first time on a particular post for a period of two months during which he may be dismissed at any time without notice. At the end of two months if not dismissed a Probationary operative becomes permanent.	9. Operatives will be classed as (1) Probationary and (2) Permanent. A Probationary operative is one who is provisionally engaged for the first time on a particular post for a period of two months during which he may be discharged or may leave at any time without notice. At the end of two months, if not discharged, a Probationary operative becomes permanent.
10. No operative shall enter or leave the mill premises except by the gate appointed for the purpose.	10. No operative shall enter or leave the mill premises except by the gate appointed for the purpose.
11. All male operatives are liable on leaving the mill premises to be searched by the gateman and all female operatives are liable to be detained by the gateman for search by the female searcher.	11. All male operatives are liable on leaving the mill premises to be searched by the gateman, and all female operatives are liable to be detained by the gateman for search by the female searcher, if acting without malice he suspects that any operative so detained or searched has wrongful possession of property belonging to the Company.
12. Before the beginning of each month a notice will be posted outside the Time-Keeper's Office and in the Mill stating (*a*) the days on which the mill will be closed during the following month, and (*b*) the date or dates on which wages will be paid.	*12 Same as the Millowners' Draft.*
Wages will be calculated to the nearest pie and the percentage allowance paid for the high cost of living shall be calculated on this amount including annas and pies, but no payment of pies shall be made. If the last figure of this calculation is five pies or less, it shall be neglected; if the last figure of this calculation amounts to six or more, the annas column will be increased to the next higher figure.	*12-A. Same as the Millowners' Draft.*
13. The Company may at any time or times and for any period or periods at their discretion in the event of a strike, fire, catastrophe, emergency or epidemic, or when it is necessary to do so because of the state of the trade stop any machine or machines, department or departments. The operatives employed on those machines or in those departments will be "played off," *i.e.*, temporarily stopped without notice and without compensation in lieu of notice. The employees so "played off" are not to be considered as dismissed from service, but are temporarily unemployed and will not be entitled to wages during such unemployment. Such	13. The Company may at any time or times and (*a*) for any period or periods at their discretion in the event of a strike, fire, catastrophe, epidemic or other emergency rendering it necessary or advisable to do so, and (*b*) for a period not exceeding two days in the event of the state of the trade rendering it necessary to do so, stop any machine or machines, department or departments. The operatives employed on those machines or in those departments will be "played office", *i.e.*, temporarily stopped without notice and without compensation in lieu of notice, provided that an employee "played off"

Millowners' Draft.	*Committee's Draft.*
employees will be given the first chance of work again on the resumption of work on such machines or departments.	for a period longer than seven days may leave the Company's service on intimation of his intention to do so, without any further notice. The employees so "played off" are not to be considered as dismissed from service, but are temporarily unemployed and will not be entitled to wages during such unemployment, except to the extent mentioned in Order 13-A. Such employees will be given the first chance of work again on the resumption of work on such machines or departments.
New Order	
In the event of a stoppage of machinery due to a breakdown or stoppage of the power supply during working hours, the operatives affected shall be informed, as soon as practicable, when work will be resumed and whether they are to remain or leave the mill. The period of detention in the mill shall not ordinarily exceed one hour after the commencement of the stoppage or breakdown. If the period of detention does not exceed one hour, operatives so detained shall not be paid for the period of detention. If the period of detention in the mill exceeds one hour, operatives so detained shall be entitled to receive wages for the whole of the time during which they are detained in the mill as a result of the stoppage. Operatives shall not be paid during the period of any breakdown or stoppage when they are not detained in the Mill.	13-A. In the event of a stoppage of any machine or department under Order 13 during working hours, the operatives affected shall be informed, as soon as practicable, when work will be resumed and whether they are to remain or leave the mill. The period of detention in the mill shall not ordinarily exceed one hour after the commencement of the stoppage. If the period of detention does not exceed one hour, operatives so detained shall not be paid for the period of detention. If the period of detention in the mill exceeds one hour, operatives so detained shall be entitled to receive wages for the whole of the time during which they are detained in the mill as a result of the stoppage. In the case of piece-workers, the average daily earnings for the previous month shall be taken to be the wages for 10 hours.
14. The service of any operative drawing a monthly wage may be terminated on one month's notice or on payment of one month's wage in lieu of notice. Any operative drawing wages on a daily earning basis may be dismissed on one month's notice or 26 days' earnings (computed on the average earnings of such operative for the month last passed) in lieu of notice.	14. The service of any operative may be terminated by 14 days' notice or by payment of 13 days' wages in lieu of notice. If he draws wages on a piece rate basis, the 13 days' wages shall be computed on the average daily earnings of such operative for the previous calendar month.
15. Any operative desirous of leaving the Company's service shall, on the last day of the month, or, if that day be a holiday, on the day previous, give one month's notice to the Head of the Department concerned. The wages due to such an operative must be paid within three days after the expiry of the notice; if more than 20 per cent. of the operatives in a department give notices simultaneously, the period of three days to be extended to one week. If any permanent operative leaves without such notice he shall forfeit the whole or part of the wages due to him for the month at the discretion of the Manager by way of liquidated damages.	15. Any operative desirous of leaving the Company's service shall give 14 days' notice to the Head of the Department concerned. The wages due to such an operative must, if possible, be paid on the day the notice expires and in any case within three days after the expiry of the notice. If any permanent operative leaves without notice, he shall be liable to forfeit by way of liquidated damages at the discretion of the Manager the whole or part of the wages due to him for the 14 days immediately prior to his so leaving, provided that no such order of forfeiture shall be passed without giving the operative an opportunity of being heard, if he is present or his attendance can be procured without undue difficulty.

Millowners' Draft.	*Committee's Draft.*
No corresponding rule framed by the Millowners' Association, but they stated in May 1928 that they had no objection to unclaimed wages being made available to operatives at any time on sufficient identification.	15-A. Any wages due to an operative but not paid on account of their being unclaimed will be paid by the Company at any time on their being claimed by the operative or his legal representatives, subject to the operative being sufficiently identified.
16. Each Jobber will be deemed to have knowledge of the rules under the Indian Factories Act as regards the employment of women and children and will be personally responsible to see those Rules are not infringed.	16. (Omitted in view of Standing Order 20.)
17. Any operative who is adjudged by the Manager on examination of the man, if present, and of the facts to be guilty of misconduct is liable to be summarily dismissed without notice, or, at the Manager's discretion, to be fined. The following acts or omissions will be treated as misconduct, namely,— (*a*) insubordination or disobedience whether alone or in combination with another or others to a superior or to the Manager; (*b*) striking work either singly or with other operatives without giving one month's previous notice; (*c*) inciting whilst on the premises any operative to strike work without giving one month's previous notice; (*d*) habitual breach of any rules for the maintenance and running of any department and maintaining its cleanliness, and (*e*) theft.	17. Any operative who is adjudged by the Manager on examination of the man, if present, and of the facts to be guilty of misconduct is liable to be summarily dismissed without notice, or, at the Manager's discretion, to be fined. The following acts or omissions, among other things justifying summary dismissal under the ordinary law of Master and Servant, will be treated as misconduct, namely,— (*a*) wilful insubordination or disobedience whether alone or in combination with another or others to any lawful and reasonable order of a superior or of the manager; (*b*) striking work either singly or with other operatives without giving 14 days' previous notice; (*c*) inciting whilst on the premises any operative to strike work without giving 14 days' previous notice; (*d*) habitual breach of any rules for the maintenance and running of any department and maintaining its cleanliness, and (*e*) theft, fraud or dishonesty in connection with the Company's business or property.
18. Operatives will ordinarily be fined after being heard (but the acts on being repeated or in any gross case may be treated as misconduct under Order 17) for any of the following offences, namely,— (*a*) absence without leave for more than three days without sufficient cause; (*b*) negligence in work or neglect of work; (*c*) smoking on the mill premises except in places where smoking is permitted;	18. Operatives will ordinarily be fined after being heard (but the acts on being repeated or in any gross case may be treated as misconduct under Order 17) for any of the following offences, namely,— (*a*) absence without leave for more than three days without sufficient cause; (*b*) negligence in work or neglect of work; (*c*) smoking on the mill premises except in places where smoking is permitted;

Millowners' Draft.	*Committee's Draft.*
(*d*) entering or leaving or attempting to enter or leave the mill premises except by the gate provided for that purpose;	(*d*) entering or leaving or attempting to enter or leave the mill premises except by the gate provided for that purpose;
(*e*) habitual late attendance;	(*e*) habitual late attendance;
(*f*) absence without leave without sufficient cause from appointed work in the mill;	(*f*) absence without leave or without other sufficient excuse from appointed work in the mill;
(*g*) quarrelling or behaving in a noisy or obnoxious manner or doing anything likely to cause a breach of the peace, and	(*g*) quarrelling or behaving in a noisy or obnoxious manner or doing anything likely to cause a breach of the peace;
	(*g*-A) breach of any rules for the maintenance and running of any department and maintaining its cleanliness; and
(*h*) taking bribes from or giving bribes to any other operative or person employed in the mill, or from or to any other person having dealings with the Company as a motive or reward for doing or omitting to do any act, the performance or omission whereof would be prejudicial to the interests of the Company.	(*h*) taking bribes from or giving bribes to any other operative or person employed in the mill, or from or to any other person having dealings with the Company as a motive or reward for doing or omitting to do any act, the performance or omission whereof would be prejudicial to the interests of the Company.
The total amount of fines inflicted under this Rule (18) during any particular month shall in no case exceed 2 per cent. of the operatives' total earnings for that month.	The total amount of fines inflicted under this Order 18 during any particular month shall in no case exceed 2 per cent. of the operatives' total earnings for that month.
New addition to this Rule.	
Fines imposed under this rule shall be utilized for the welfare work of the Company.	All fines imposed under this Order will be credited to a Welfare Fund and utilised for such benefit or benefits to the operatives as the Company may determine.
	No fine shall be inflicted by an officer lower than the Head of the Department in which the operative fined is employed.
19. The order and the reasons for fine or dismissal of any operative shall be in writing and shall be dated and signed in the case of a fine by the Head of the Department concerned, and in case of dismissal by the Manager, and shall, in the event of a fine, state the amount. A copy of such order, if demanded, should be supplied to the operative.	19. The order and the reasons for fine or dismissal of any operative shall be in writing and shall be dated and signed in the case of a fine by the Head of the Department concerned, and in case of dismissal by the Manager, and shall, in the event of a fine, state the amount. A copy of such order should, in the case of a dismissal, be supplied to the operative concerned, unless it is impracticable to do so, and in the case of a fine should be supplied if demanded by the operative concerned. Any operative aggrieved by any such order of the Head of a Department can appeal to the Manager, and any order of the latter is appealable to the Managing Agents under the provisions of Order 3.

Millowners' Draft.	*Committee's Draft.*
20. Each Overseer, Jobber or Muccadum will be personally held responsible for the proper and faithful observance of the special rules made under the Factories Act and posted in the mill, particularly regarding the employment and working of women and children under him.	20. *Same as the Millowners' Draft.*
21 A copy of these Orders in the vernacular will be handed to each operative when engaged, and he shall accept work at the Mill on the understanding that he has read these Orders and agrees to abide by them.	21. A copy of these Orders, or of the Orders as altered under Rule 22, in the vernacular will be handed to each operative when engaged, and he shall accept work at the Mill on the understanding that he has read the said Orders and agrees to abide by them.
Corresponds to Order 4 above ..	22. The Company will not rescind, add to, or otherwise alter these Orders unless— (1) at least two months' clear notice of the proposed rescission, addition or other alteration has been posted up in the vernacular and a copy of the same forwarded to the Millowners' Association; (2) objections or suggestions, if any, put forward by the operatives or their representatives within one month after the posting up of the notice have been considered by the Company; (3) the Millowners' Association has signified its assent in writing to the proposal, or to any modification thereof; and (4) the said alteration, in the form finally approved by the Millowners' Association, has been posted up in the vernacular for the information of the operatives of the Company, not less than fourteen days prior to its being given effect to. Upon substantial compliance with the above conditions, the said alteration shall be binding on the operatives as if originally incorporated in these Orders: Provided that nothing in the foregoing part of this rule will preclude the Company from— (*a*) making any such alteration with effect from an earlier time than is required by the above provisions, with the consent of the operatives or their representatives and with the approval of the Millowners' Association, or

Millowners' Draft.

Committee's Draft.

(*b*) making by-laws or rules, not inconsistent with the Standing Orders, for the maintenance or running of any Departments, maintaining cleanliness, or other similar matters of internal administration.

New Order regarding compulsory purchase of damaged Cloth.

The Company shall be entitled to debit a weaver's wages with the cost of cloth damaged by the negligence of the weaver concerned. The piece or pieces damaged shall become the property of the weaver. The decision to debit the wages of a weaver with the cost of damaged cloth under this rule shall be made by an officer of the Company not lower in rank than an Assistant Weaving Master.

This Order as tentatively proposed by the Committee.

The Company shall not be entitled to debit a weaver's wages with the cost of cloth damaged by his negligence, unless he elects to take it over on those terms. Otherwise the Company may deduct from his wages an amount corresponding to the estimated loss caused to it by such negligence, provided that, if the proposed deduction exceeds the sum of Rs. or the weaver disputes the damage being due to his negligence, the deduction shall not be made by an officer of the Company lower in rank than an Assistant Weaving Master. If the latter officer directs a deduction of Rs. or over, and the weaver disputes his liability to pay the same, there shall be a joint examination of the damaged cloth by such officer of the Company as the Manager appoints and a representative of the weavers, who may be either an employee of the Company or an official of a registered Trade Union. If they agree in their decision, the Manager shall accept their decision. If they disagree, and there is no independent person to whom the Manager and the weavers' representative agree to refer the dispute, the Manager shall decide what amount (if any) shall be deducted from the weaver's wages.

APPENDIX IV.

The Press Note Issued by the Director of Information on the agreement of the 4th October 1928.

At a conference held at the Secretariat between the representatives of the Millowners' Association and the Joint Strike Committee, presided over by the Honourable Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah the following agreement was arrived at:—

1. A committee of three members to be appointed by Government.
2. Terms of reference—
   (*a*) Whether the amended scheme of a standardized schedule of rates and of a standardized muster prepared by the Millowners' Association, and also the scheme prepared by the Strike Committee is fair and reasonable.
   (*b*) Whether the Seventeen demands advanced by the Strike Committee are fair and reasonable and to what extent, if any, they should be met.
   (*c*) Whether the Standing Orders for operatives as amended and presented by the Millowners' Association on the 4th October 1928 are fair and reasonable.
3. (*a*) Work to be resumed on the basis that for the period between the calling off of the strike and the publication of the Report of the Committee, the rates and wages of March 1927 should be paid provided that in those mills in the Sassoon group, the Finlay group and the Kohinoor which now work on a revised system, the rates and wages of March 1928 shall be paid in the Spinning Departments only, and in the following mills the rates of March 1928 in the *Weaving Department*:—
   (*a*) The Manchester Mill;
   (*b*) The Apollo Mill; and
   (*c*) The Meyer Sassoon Mill.

   (*b*) The question of musters shall not arise.
4. Advances as detailed below to be given to operatives weekly after resumption of work for the rest of October and subsequently fortnightly till the end of November. No advances to be paid from 1st of December from which date monthly wages will be paid as usual.

Adjustments of pay for October will be paid on 11th November and adjustments for the month of November to be paid on 15th December 1928.

Scale of Advances.

	Rs.	a.	p.	
Doffer boys, Reachers and Female piece-workers ..	.. 0	12	0	per day.
Blow Room, Card Room, Strippers, Grinders, Card Tenters	.. 1	0	0	do.
Drawing Tenters, Slubbing, Inter Roving ..	.. 1	4	0	do.
Spinning Side Boys and Tarwallas	.. 1	0	0	do.
Warehousemen	.. 1	0	0	do.
Warping, Sizing, Drawers, Weavers	.. 1	8	0	do.

Operatives not provided for in this list to receive 7/8ths of the rates agreed to above (including allowances).

5. Any dispute arising out of the interpretation of this agreement shall be referred for decision to the Committee to be appointed.
6. Work to be resumed on Saturday, October the 6th, 1928.

APPENDIX V.

TABLE I.

List of witnesses examined by the Committee.

Monday 29th October—

1. Mr. T. Watts, Superintendent, Currimbhoy Ebrahim Mills.

Wednesday 31st October—

2. Mr. J. F. Jennings, Barrister-at-law, Director of Information and Labour Intelligence.

Friday 2nd November—

3. Mr. Dhanjibhoy Framji Batliwala, Partner in the firm of Messrs. Nowroji Wadia & Sons.

Thursday 6th November—

4. Mr. T. Sasakura, Managing Director, The Toyo Podar Cotton Mills, Ltd.
5. Mr. Balkrishna Keroba Mantri, Acting Secretary, Bombay Millowners' Association.
6. Mr. S. D. Saklatvala, Director, Messrs. Tata Sons, Ltd.

Wednesday 7th November—

7. Mr. Bernard James Whitby, Partner in the firm of Messrs. A. F. Ferguson & Co., Chartered Accountants.
8. Mr. Andrew Geddis, Partner in the firm of Messrs. James Findlay & Co.
9. Mr. Jivandas Purshottamdas Dutia, Partner in the firm of Messrs. Lalji Naranji & Co., Bombay; and Technical Adviser to the Trade Mission.

Thursday 8th November—

10. Sir Joseph Kay, Kt., Managing Director, Messrs. W. H. Brady & Co., Ltd.

Thursday 22nd November—

11. Mr. Cowasji Maneckji Sutaria, Manager, Swadeshi Mills, Kurla.
12. Mr. John Tinker, Superintendent, The Brady Group of Mills.

Friday 23rd November—

13. Mr. James Green, Weaving Superintendent of the Fazulbhoy Mills.
14. Mr. Pherozeshah Cowasji Lentin, Superintendent of the Petit Group of Mills.
15. Mr. Phillip Harrison of the Bombay Dyeing and Manufacturing Co., Ltd.
16. Mr. A. Parry, Manager, Union Mill.

Monday 25th November—

17. Mr. Anandrao Velji, Manager, Crown Mills.
18. Mr. Shiavaksh Sorabji, Weaving Master, Crown Mills.
19. Mr. Walter Pennington, Manager, Textile Mills.
20. Mr. B. B. Desai, Weaving Manager, Indian and Kaiser-I-Hind Mills.

Tuesday 27th November—

21. Sir Manmohandas Ramji, Agent, Indian and Kaiser-I-Hind Mills.
22. Mr. Usman Sobhani, Manager, Messrs. Pratabgirji Narsingirji & Co., and Managing Agent, Pralhad Mill.
23. Mr. J. G. Anderson, Partner in the firm of Messrs. C. N. Wadia & Co.

Wednesday 28th November—

24. Mr. James Gardener, Weaving Master, Kohinoor Mills
and
25. Mr. James Sutton, Manager, Kohinoor Mills.

Thursday 29th November—

26. Mr. Kemp, Representative, Madhavji Dharamsey Mills.
27. Mr. P. H. Godbole, Weaving Master, Madhavji Dharamsey Mills.
28. Mr. Ardeshir N. Adajania, Weaving Master and Manager, Simplex Mills.

Friday 30th November—

29. Mr. Sorabjee Merwanji Solai, Carding and Spinning Master.

Monday 3rd December—

30. Sir Victor Sassoon, Bart., Partner in the firm of Messrs. E. D. Sassoon & Co.

Tuesday 4th December—

31. Mr. Cottam, Deputy Superintendent, Spinning Section, E. D. Sassoon Group of Mills.
32. Mr. Babaji Sadashiv Pednekar, Manager, Apollo Mills.
33. Mr. Meyer Reubens, Deputy Superintendent, Weaving Section, E. D. Sassoon Group of Mills.
34. Mr. William Taylor, Manager, Gold Mohur Mills.

Tuesday 11th December—

35. Mr. N. G. Hunt, Governing Director, Messrs. Greaves Cotton & Co.
36. Mr. A. J. Turner, Principal, Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute.
37. Mr. V. A. Fernandez, Head of the Textile Department, Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute.
38. Mr. J. Addyman, M.L.C., Manager, Bombay Woollen Mills.

Wednesday 12th December—

39. Mr. Ramsing Dongarsingh, Manager, Morarji Goculdas Mills.

Thursday 13th December—

40. Mr. Ernest Gordon Cameron, M.I.M.E., M.R.S.I., Mechanical Engineer, Bombay Municipality.
41. Dr. Sandilands, Health Officer, Bombay Municipality.
42. Mr. A. E. Williams, Chief Mechanical Engineer, G. I. P. Railway.

Friday 14th December—

43. Mr. Benjamin Francis Bradley, Labour Worker.
44. Mr. D. B. Kulkarni, Vice-President, G. I. P. Railwaymen's Union.
45. Mr. S. C. Joshi, M.A., LL.B., Advocate, M.L.C.

Friday 4th January 1929—

46. Mr. C. N. Moberly, General Manager, The Bombay Electric Supply and Tramway Co., Ltd.
47. Hafiz Mahomed Hussain.
48. Najibulla.
49. Munshi Subrati.

} Weavers, Khatau Makanji Mills.

50. Mahomed Umar.
51. Mahomed Ibrahim.

} Weavers, Indian Mills.

Monday 7th January 1929—

52. Mahomed Umar Rajab, Weaver, Madhavjee Dharamsey Mill.
53. Aga Ibrahim, Line Jobber, Weaving Department, Madhavji Dharamsey Mill.
54. Ibrahim Aga Sahob, Jobber, Madhavji Dharamsey Mills.
55. Dwarkanath Hirajee Keni, Mechanic, Kohinoor Mills.
56. Mahomed Ibrahim,
57. Abdul Hamid Jan Mahomed,

} Weavers, Hindustan Mills.

58. Shanker Dharamjee Mhatre, Bander, Swadeshi Mills, Kurla.
59. Dhondu Hari Patil, Roving Tenter, Swadeshi Mills, Kurla.
60. Abdul Rahim, Weaver, Swadeshi Mills, Kurla.

Tuesday 8th January—

61. Sakharam Babaji, Spinner, Century Mill.
62. Krishna Anvati, Spinner, Century Mill.
63. Laxman Krishna, Spinner, Century Mill.
64. Bhikhaji Hari, Spinner, Century Mill.
65. Bhiku Krishna, Roving Tenter, Century Mill.
66. Gaja Mahadu, Roving Tenter, Century Mill.
67. Baboo Dowlat.
68. Dattoo Bhau.
69. Vishnu Devba.
70. Shantaram Bhanu.
71. Keshav Shiva.

} Weavers, Century Mill.

72. Pushni Rama, Winder, Century Mill.
73. Parvati Govind, Winder, Century Mill.
74. Bayo Sayaji, Winder, Century Mill.
75. Godi Narayen, Winder, Century Mill.
76. Jani Narayen, Cheese Winder, Century Mill.
77. Parvati Rama, Cheese Winder, Century Mill.
78. Bhima Ragho, Colour Winder, Century Mill.

79. Savitri Sakharam, Colour Winder, Spring Mill.
80. Bhagi Raghoba, Colour Winder, Spring Mill.
81. Shanti Sakharam, Weft Winder, Spring Mill.
82. Chandrabai Babaji, Weft Winder, Spring Mill.
83. Jijabai, Winder, Spring Mill.
84. Anandi, Winder, Spring Mill.
85. Anandi Mahadu, Reeler, Spring Mill.
86. Gokula Bhiwa, Reeler, Spring Mill.
87. Dhondu Bhau, Sider, Spring Mill.
88. Tukaram Raoji, Sider, Spring Mill.
89. Mahadev Gopal, Drawing-in Tenter, Spring Mill.

Wednesday 9th January—

90. Rajab Ganesh, Blow Room Department, Spring Mill.
91. Bapu Sayaji, Card Room Department, Spring Mill.
92. Laxman Babaji, Roving Department, Spring Mill.
93. Maruti Laxman, Roving Department, Spring Mill.
94. Maruti Murari, Roving Department, Spring Mill.
95. Tukaram Motiram, Weaver, Spring Mill.
96. Dhondu Vithoo, Weaver, Spring Mill.
97. Parsharam Mariba, Weaver, Spring Mill.
98. Dhondu Ganu, Drawing-in Department, Textile Mills.
99. Sabaji Budaji, Weaving Department, Textile Mills.
100. Babu Rahu, Roving Department, David Mills.
101. Sita Vishram, Roving Department, David Mills.

Thursday 10th January—

102. Miss I. Wingate, Industrial Secretary, National Committee of Young Women's Christian Association.

Wednesday 23rd January—

103. Mr. T. Hincheliffe, Weaving Master, Spring Mills.
104. Mr. D. Cowasjee, Head Time Keeper, Spring Mills.
105. F. G. D'Silva, Ticket Boy, Spring Mills.
106. Sitaram Bhikaji, Ticket Boy, Spring Mills.

TABLE II.

Names of Institutes and Mills Visited by the Committee.

1. The Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute (twice);
2. The Jacob Sassoon Mills (twice);
3. The Manchester Mills;
4. The Finlay Mills;
5. The Tata Mills;
6. The Maneckjee Petit Mills;
7. The Hindustan Mills;
8. The Bombay Industrial Mills;
9. The Spring Mills; and
10. The Imperial Mills.

APPENDIX VI.

A Precis of the Disputes dealt with by the Committee on complaints submitted either by the Millowners' Association, Bombay, or by the Joint Strike Committee regarding actual or alleged breaches of the agreement of the 4th October 1928

1. Re. *Sir Shapurjee Broacha Mills.* (31st October 1928.)

Complaint : On resumption of work after the General Strike, the management asked their siders to work double frames. The Joint Strike Committee stated that this was against the spirit of the agreement.

Result : The management agreed to withdraw the system in view of the fact that this mill was not included in the exceptions in paragraph 3 of the agreement.

2. Re. *Textile Mills.* (31st October 1928 and 23rd January 1929.)

Complaint : The Joint Strike Committee protested against the continuation of the system of weavers being asked to clean their machines every day and against the issue of tickets of attendance to them.

The Millowners' Association stated that, as this system had been in existence in thi Mill prior to 1927, it could be continued under the agreement of the 4th October.

Result : When the matter was finally discussed before the Committee on the 23rd January on the initiative of the agents of the Mill, it was held that, as this subject was covered by the terms of Reference, the Committee could not give any decision in the matter prior to the publication of their Report.

3. Re. *Toyo Podar Mills.* (31st October 1928.)

Complaint : The Joint Strike Committee submitted three complaints with regard to this Mill : (1) that the weavers were asked to work on three looms each instead of two ; (2) that certain winders suffered a reduction in their earnings as a result of being asked to make use of an instrument called a ' knotter ', and (3) that, on resumption of work, the mill refused to give employment to old workers and had drafted a form of agreement, which the men were compelled to sign before employment, binding them down to accept the rates and wages to be fixed by the Bombay Strike Enquiry Committee.

The Millowners' Association stated that, as this mill was not a member of their Association, it was not a party to the agreement, but Mr. Sasakura agreed to be bound by it.

Result : Re. (1) Mr. Sasakura agreed not to introduce three-loom working for the period during which the agreement held good. *Re.* (2) he stated that a time rate of 12 annas per day was introduced for winders using knotters, so as not to unduly affect their earnings during the time in which they were getting accustomed to its use, and that as soon as they were proficient with it they would be put on again on piece rates, when they would earn an extra anna per day with the use of the knotter. *Re.* (3) Mr. Sasakura stated that the management was at liberty to terminate the services of any employee by giving a month's notice or pay in lieu of notice, and that he agreed not to enforce the form of the contract of employment. No decision of the Committee was therefore necessary.

4. Re. *Century Mills.* (31st October 1928.)

Complaint : The Joint Strike Committee stated that the Mill had printed a new set of rules more drastic in effect than the proposed Standing Orders.

Result : Mr. John Anderson, a partner in the firm of the Agents of this mill, produced copies of the old and the alleged new rules and showed that the latter were merely a reprint of the rules that had been in existence prior to the strike. The complaint was accordingly withdrawn.

5. Re. *Dinshaw Petit Mills.* (31st October 1928.)

Complaint : The Joint Strike Committee complained that a number of mechanics and other workers were not taken up by the Mill on resumption of work.

Result : Mr. Lowji Morris, on behalf of the management, stated that this complaint arose in consequence of the mill not working the same number of preparations as before the strike, but that the old hands would be re-engaged, as additional preparations were started provided that the old hands returned within a reasonable period. The complaint was accordingly withdrawn.

6. Re. *New City of Bombay Mill.* (31st October 1928.)

Complaint : The Joint Strike Committee complained that there was a reduction in the number of oilers employed in the Ring Frame Department of this mill, as compared with the number employed before the strike.

Result : The Millowners' Association stated that, as only half the number of Ring Frames, as compared with those in operation before the strike, were working, two oilers were not necessary, but that the mill agreed to employ the other oiler when all the frames were re-started. The complaint was accordingly withdrawn.

7. Re. *Madhavjee Dharamsey Mills.* (31st October and 1st November 1928.)

Complaint : The Joint Strike Committee stated that the men employed in this mill for " whipping " blankets were paid lower rates than those paid prior to the General Strike.

Mr. Kemp, on behalf of the management of the mill, stated that the work of " whipping " blankets was given on contract and that the mill was not concerned with the rates paid by a contractor to the men he engaged on the job. The Labour representatives held that as the contractor's men were entered on the Mill's musters, these men came under the agreement of the 4th October.

Result : The Committee held that, as it was admitted that the names of the contractor and his assistants were on the mill musters, they must be treated as operatives, though there may be a formal contract in writing as to the rates of work ; and that, in spite of any acceptance of rates lower than those of March 1927 by the whipper, the mill was bound to pay the March 1927 rates, pending the publication of the Committee's report.

8. Re. *Madhavjee Dharamsey Mills.* (31st October and 1st November 1928.)

Complaint : The management of the mill stated that they had reduced the weavers' rates in February 1928, that there was a strike in consequence and that an agreement on the basis of an acceptance of lower rates was concluded between the management and the representatives of the Bombay Textile Labour Union. On resumption of work after the General Strike the weavers demanded the rates of March 1927 in accordance with the terms of the agreement of the 4th October. The management contended that, as a separate agreement had been concluded on this question, they were entitled to pay the lower rates.

Result : The Committee held that this question had to be decided by the actual wording of the agreement of the 4th October, and that, as the Madhavjee Dharamsey Mill was not specified as an exceptional case in paragraph 3 of the agreement, the mill was bound to pay the rates and wages of March 1927, although there was considerable force in the contention that, as the Labour Union had agreed to the change of rates in February or March 1928, it was at any rate equitable that those rates should be continued.

(On the 14th February 1929, the Millowners' Association again raised the question as to the rates of wages to be paid by this mill after the publication of the Committee's report. The Committee held that, as the agreement of the 4th October was to continue in force only " for the period between the calling off of the Strike and the publication of the Report of the Committee, " they were not in a position to express an opinion as to what arrangements should continue in individual cases after the publication of their Report.)

9. Re. *Maneckjee Petit Mills.* (31st October 1928.)

Complaint : The Joint Strike Committee complained that after resumption of work certain workpeople were either asked to work at reduced rates or to do more work on the existing rates.

Result : It was agreed that this matter should be settled by mutual discussion between the Association and the Joint Strike Committee.

10. Re. *Kohinoor Mills.* (31st October 1928.)

Complaint : The Joint Strike Committee stated that this mill had altered the conditions of work and had increased the hours in the folding and some other departments.

Result : Mr. Sutton, on behalf of the management of the mill, stated that, as his mill was specified as an exceptional case in paragraph 3 of the agreement, the mill was started up under the conditions of March 1928 and that Mr. Dange, with whom he had discussed the question, was also in agreement with him.

The complaint was accordingly withdrawn.

11. Re. *Simplex Mills.* (31st October 1928.)

Complaint : The Joint Strike Committee complained that an alteration in the hours of work had been made by the posting of a notice to the effect that all the operatives of the mill should leave at 5-45 p.m.

Result : In view of the fact that the management had withdrawn the notice and given the operatives a warning that they should not leave work before 5-30 p.m., the matter was not discussed further.

12. Re. *Pralhad Mill.* (31st October 1928.)

Complaint : The Joint Strike Committee stated that this mill had altered the working time for their folding and mechanical departments.

Result : Mr. Stones, on behalf of the authorities of the mill said that the men were getting a little more than before and that they were contemplating a change, but as a result of a letter from the Association they had decided not to change the *status quo* at present.

13. Re. *The Standard Mills.* (9th November 1928.)

Complaint : The Joint Strike Committee stated that the management had put up a notice of reduced rates in the weaving department on the 7th November, as the result of which some trouble took place between the management of the mill and the men ; but that, when the weavers went back to work in response to the advice given by the Bombay Girni Kamgar Union, the management refused to take them in and that something in the nature of a lock-out had resulted.

Result : The Association agreed to get fuller details from the management, and to place the same before the Committee at a later date. The matter was eventually settled between the parties themselves without further reference to the Committee.

14. Re. *Mathradas Mill.* (9th November 1928.)

Complaint : The Millowners' Association stated that this mill moved on to 40s, spinning finer counts ; and that in consequence, there was a reduction in the number of employees on 40s as compared with the number on 20s. The Association complained that the men had caused a breach of the agreement by going on strike, in view of the fact that it was expressly stated in the agreement that the " question of musters shall not arise ".

Result : It was decided that Mr. Joshi and Mr. Dange should collect further particulars and discuss the matter with Mr. Stones. There was no further reference on this question to the Committee.

15. Re. *Spring Mills.* (21st November 1928.)

Complaint : The agents of the mill wrote a letter to the Committee requesting an enquiry into the strike in that mill. The main facts, as stated by Sir Ness Wadia, the agent and the other officers of the mill at the enquiry held into this matter on the 21st November, were that certain operatives in the Spinning Department did not get their bonus for the month of October, when wages for that month were paid on the 11th November on account of their not having put in the number of days required to earn the bonus. The men in the Spinning Department worked for only three-quarters of an hour on that day. There was a strike in consequence, and the whole mill was compelled to close down.

The Joint Strike Committee stated that the stoppage on the 11th November was due mainly to engine trouble, and that the men were not only dissatisfied with their pay being stopped for that day, but also on account of the issue of new disciplinary orders.

Result : The Committee held that the workers were responsible for a breach of the agreement by breaking the truce arranged by it and going on strike without submitting their grievances for proper enquiry, and that it was up to the Labour representatives to do what they could to bring about a better understanding. The matter was accordingly left to the parties concerned to discuss between themselves with a view to arriving at a settlement.

16. Re. *Crown Mills.* (27th and 28th November 1928.)

Complaint : The Millowners' Association submitted that the Bombay Girni Kamgar Union demanded that the management of this mill should dismiss two particular jobbers and that, if they were not dismissed, the Union threatened to take direct action. On the other hand, the Bombay Textile Labour Union wrote to

the management of the mill that the jobbers concerned were absolutely innocent and that the other union wanted to turn them out, because they were not members of that union.

Result : The Committee held that the dispute was really one between two unions and that the Committee had no jurisdiction in the matter, as it was not covered by the agreement of the 4th October.

17. Re. *Jacob Sassoon Mills.* (7th and 8th January 1929.)

Complaint : The Joint Strike Committee complained that five siders who had been working on single sides of a frame in the Ring Spinning Department in this mill prior to and also subsequent to the General Strike had been asked to work double sides and that there was a strike affecting the whole mill in consequence.

Result : There was a considerable discussion with regard to this dispute, in which Sir Victor Sassoon, Bart., and others gave evidence. The Chairman of the Committee gave the Committee's decision as follows :—

" With regard to the present strike in the Jacob Sassoon Mill, the question before us is whether there has been a breach of the agreement of the 4th October 1928 by the management, and this resolves itself into the question whether there has been a substantial change in the *status quo* as it existed in April 1928, that is, the month that applies in the case of this particular mill.

" The main facts are that the system of two-siders in the spinning section of this mill had started in January 1928, and it is not denied that the practice of the mill was that when they were spinning 10s counts there would be two men employed each on one side and when they were spinning counts higher than 10s, then those men were liable to be put each on two sides of as many as 360 spindles. The mill had been contemplating altering some single-side frames, and when the general strike occurred they took advantage of this interval to convert a number of these single-side frames into two-side frames. When that had been done, some five men who had been hitherto employed on single-side were required to attend each to two sides of as many as 372 spindles in all, the mill being engaged then in spinning not 10s but 21s. The men objected to this and there has occurred a strike in consequence.

" The contention of Mr. Dange is, that one of the reasons for the general strike was the objection of the workers to the extension of what has been styled 'the rational scheme' which involves increase of work for certain men and possible unemployment for those who are turned away and that this institution of double sides since the strike began constitutes an attempt at extending the system contrary to the principle of *status quo* which has been recognised in the agreement of October 1928.

" The management, on the other hand, contend that there has been no change from the practice which had been introduced before April 1928, as we have already mentioned, and they were entitled to take advantage of the general strike to make a change in the lay-out of the mill which had already been previously contemplated.

" Now, in construing an agreement of this kind regard must be had to what is reasonable. If a manager of a mill deliberately goes and tries to extend the strain of work on the millhands by alterations of the lay-out subsequent to the agreement or even subsequent to the beginning of the general strike without any previous intention of doing so, then undoubtedly there would be a breach of, at any rate, the spirit of the agreement of October 1928. But in the present case we are not satisfied that the management here can be said to have made a deliberate change of that kind. The practice as to the men being liable to go from one side to two sides is not denied, and these particular men might have been put on the two-sides system that already existed in the mill. The mere fact that they are asked to go on two sides on a new frame does not, in our opinion, constitute a deliberate attempt of the kind referred to by Mr. Dange, in view of the fact that this change had previously been contemplated and was carried out during the strike, so that it was completed recently. We have examined the muster-roll for 1928 which corroborates the statement of the management about the practice. "

18. Re. *Pearl Mills.* (21st January 1929.)

Complaint : The Joint strike Committee stated that, as a consequence of the murder of the weaving master of this mill at about 2-30 p.m. on the 30th December 1928 on the premises of the mill, the management closed the mill and notified the

workers that their December wages would be paid on the 4th and 5th, January. After the payment of the December wages had been effected the management re-opened the mills with a new complement of hands. The Labour representatives complained that in the weaving and other departments of the mills men and women, who were members of the Bombay Girni Kamgar Union, were dismissed. The dispute was referred to the Committee as one of wrongful dismissal and of victimisation.

Result : There was a considerable discussion with regard to this dispute, in which Mr. T. Watts, the Superintendent of the Currimbhoy Ebrahim group of mills, and various officers and men of the Pearl Mills gave evidence. The decision of the Committee is reproduced below :—

> " From the evidence which has been brought before us, it seems to us clear that the discharge of men, which is complained of, is not due to anything connected with the general strike and the circumstances under which the agreement of the 4th of October 1928 was arrived at, but to a subsequent incident, namely, the murder of an Assistant Weaving Master in the Pearl Mills, in which according to two witnesses who were present, a large body of men estimated at 200 to 250 took part. We do not think it necessary to go into more detail in regard to this unfortunate incident : it is a crime that is being investigated by the police. Our jurisdiction in the matter is very limited, and the only clause of the agreement of the 4th October 1928 that gives us any is No. 5, which merely says : ' Any dispute arising out of the interpretation of this agreement shall be referred for decision to the Committee to be appointed. ' It is possible that a case of alleged victimisation by which a man is discharged because of some activities in connection with the general strike or even in connection with the trade union organisation in general might be a dispute coming under this clause. But, however that may be, we do not find any evidence that there is victimisation of that kind in the present case. It is possible that under the arrangements that have been made by the management for the discharge of old hands and the taking on of new hands some innocent person entirely unimplicated in this crime of murder has to suffer, but that is not a question on which we are really authorised to give a decision under the agreement. It is a matter which can be litigated, if necessary, in the courts of law under the ordinary process of action for wrongful dismissal ; and whether the management were or were not justified in taking that step is not one which it would be desirable in the present circumstances for us to decide. We must, therefore, hold that no question which can be dealt with under Clause 5 of the agreement is shown to have arisen in this particular case. "

19. Re : *Currimbhoy Ebrahim Group of Mills.* (8th March 1929.)

Complaint : The Millowners' Association stated that the Sizers in seven mills under the Agency of Messrs. Currimbhoy Ebrahim & Sons, Ltd., had gone on strike owing to the refusal of the management to pay them at the time rates laid down in the Association's proposed Standardisation Scheme instead of at the usual piece-rates of March 1927, at which they were being paid in accordance with the terms of the agreement of the 4th October 1928. The Association complained that the men were responsible for a breach of the agreement.

The Joint Strike Committee contended that, although it was virtually true that the Sizers were being paid at the rates of March 1927, the earnings of the operatives concerned had fallen owing to a variance in the qualities produced.

Result : The decision given by the Committee, after hearing the arguments on both sides, is reproduced below :—

> " We think it is clear that the rates at present being paid to Sizers in the mills of the Currimbhoy group which are at present on strike, are the same as were paid in March 1927, and that accordingly the demand that instead of those rates, the rates that are proposed to be paid under the Standardisation Scheme should be paid to them would be contrary to the terms of the agreement of the 4th October 1928. The agreement is express on that point, and we have already held in the case of the Madhavjee Dharamsey Mill that the rates of March 1927 must be paid pending the submission of our Report. It is urged by Mr. Dange as an excuse that there has been some variation in the kind of work that the Sizers have to do compared with what they had to do in, say, March 1927 ; but clearly that cannot be held to be sufficient to justy other rates being fixed for men contrary to the terms of the agreement of October 4, 1928, and in fact we find from the statement that has been put in as to earnings of Sizers in various months that, except in the Pearl Mill, the earnings do roughly correspond to what the Sizers were actually

getting in March 1927. In the case of the Pearl Mill there has been trouble and possibly the efficiency was not the same in January 1929 as it was in March 1927, and it is also stated that Calcutta Dhoties about which the men complain are being sized in other mills. In the circumstances we have no hesitation in holding that there has been a breach of the agreement of October 1928 in the case of these particular mills."

APPENDIX VII.

ELEVENTH INTERNATIONAL LABOUR CONFERENCE, 1928.

PART I.—DRAFT CONVENTION CONCERNING THE CREATION OF MINIMUM WAGE FIXING MACHINERY ADOPTED ON 16TH JUNE 1928.

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation of the League of Nations,

Having been convened at Geneva by the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, and having met in its Eleventh Session on 30 May 1928, and

Having decided upon the adoption of certain proposals with regard to minimum wage fixing machinery, which is the first item on the Agenda of the Session, and

Having determined that these proposals shall take the form of a draft international convention,

adopts, this sixteenth day of June of the year one thousand nine hundred and twenty-eight, the following Draft Convention for ratification by the Members of the International Labour Organisation, in accordance with the provisions of Part XIII of the Treaty of Versailles and of the corresponding Parts of the other Treaties of Peace :

Article 1.

Each Member of the International Labour Organisation which ratifies this Convention undertakes to create or maintain machinery whereby minimum rates of wages can be fixed for workers employed in certain of the trades or parts of trades (and in particular in home working trades) in which no arrangements exist for the effective regulation of wages by collective agreement or otherwise and wages are exceptionally low.

For the purpose of this Convention the term "trades" includes manufacture and commerce.

Article 2.

Each Member which ratifies this Convention shall be free to decide, after consultation with the organisations, if any, of workers and employers in the trade or part of trade concerned, in which trades or parts of trades, and in particular in which home working trades or parts of such trades, the minimum wage fixing machinery referred to in Article 1 shall be applied.

Article 3.

Each Member which ratifies this Convention shall be free to decide the nature and form of the minimum wage fixing machinery, and the methods to be followed in its operation :

Provided that

(1) Before the machinery is applied in a trade or part of trade, representatives of the employers and workers concerned, including representatives of their respective organisations, if any, shall be consulted as well as any other persons, being specially qualified for the purpose by their trade or functions, whom the competent authority deems it expedient to consult ;

(2) The employers and workers concerned shall be associated in the operation of the machinery, in such manner and to such extent, but in any case in equal numbers and on equal terms, as may be determined by national laws or regulations ;

(3) Minimum rates of wages which have been fixed shall be binding on the employers and workers concerned so as not to be subject to abatement by them by individual agreement, nor, except with the general or particular authorisation of the competent authority, by collective agreement.

Article 4.

Each Member which ratifies this Convention shall take the necessary measures, by way of a system of supervision and sanctions, to ensure that the employers and workers concerned are informed of the minimum rates of wages in force and that wages are not paid at less than these rates in cases where they are applicable.

A worker to whom minimum rates are applicable and who has been paid wages at less than these rates shall be entitled to recover, by judicial or other legalised proceedings, the amount by which he has been underpaid, subject to such limitation of time as may be determined by national laws or regulations.

Article 5.

Each Member which ratifies this Convention shall communicate annually to the International Labour Office a general statement giving a list of the trades or parts of

trades in which the minimum wage fixing machinery has been applied, indicating the methods as well as the results of the application of the machinery and, in summary form, the approximate numbers of workers covered, the minimum rates of wages fixed, and the more important of the other conditions, if any, established relevant to the minimum rates.

Article 6.

The formal ratifications of this Convention under the conditions set forth in Part XIII of the Treaty of Versailles and in the corresponding Parts of the other Treaties of Peace shall be communicated to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations for registration.

Article 7.

This Convention shall be binding only upon those Members whose ratifications have been registered with the Secretariat.

It shall come into force twelve months after the date on which the ratifications of two Members of the International Labour Organisation have been registered with the Secretary-General.

Thereafter, this Convention shall come into force for any Member twelve months after the date on which its ratification has been registered.

Article 8.

As soon as the ratifications of two Members of the International Labour Organisation have been registered with the Secretariat, the Secretary-General of the League of Nations shall so notify all the Members of the International Labour Organisation. He shall likewise notify them of the registration of ratifications which may be communicated subsequently by other Members of the Organisation.

Article 9.

A Member which has ratified this Convention may denounce it after the expiration of ten years from the date on which the Convention first comes into force, by an act communicated to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations for registration. Such denunciation shall not take effect until one year after the date on which it is registered with the Secretariat.

Each Member which has ratified this Convention and which does not, within the year following the expiration of the period of ten years mentioned in the preceding paragraph, exercise the right of denunciation provided for in this Article, will be bound for another period of five years and, thereafter, may denounce this Convention at the expiration of each period of five years under the terms provided for in this Article.

Article 10.

At least once in ten years, the Governing Body of the International Labour Office shall present to the General Conference a report on the working of this Convention and shall consider the desirability of placing on the Agenda of the Conference the question of its revision or modification.

Article 11.

The French and English texts of this Convention shall both be authentic.

The foregoing is the authentic text of the Draft Convention duly adopted by the General Conference of the International Labour Organisation during its Eleventh Session which was held at Geneva and declared closed the 16th day of June 1928.

IN FAITH WHEREOF we have appended our signatures this twenty-second day of June 1928.

The President of the Conference,

CARLOS SAAVEDRA LAMAS.

The Director of the International Labour Office,

ALBERT THOMAS.

PART II.—RECOMMENDATION CONCERNING THE APPLICATION OF MINIMUM WAGE FIXING MACHINERY ADOPTED ON 16TH JUNE 1928.

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation of the League of Nations,

Having been convened at Geneva by the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, and having met in its Eleventh Session on 30 May 1928, and

Having decided upon the adoption of certain proposals with regard to minimum wage fixing machinery, which is the first item on the Agenda of the Session, and

Having determined that these proposals should take the form of a recommendation,

adopts, this sixteenth day of June of the year one thousand nine hundred and twenty-eight, the following Recommendation, to be submitted to the Members of the International Labour Organisation for consideration with a view to effect being given to it by national legislation or otherwise, in accordance with the provisions of Part XIII of the Treaty of Versailles and of the corresponding Parts of the other Treaties of Peace:

A.

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation,

Having adopted a Draft Convention concerning the creation of minimum wage fixing machinery, and

Desiring to supplement this Draft Convention by putting on record for the guidance of the Members certain general principles which, as present practice and experience show, produce the most satisfactory results,

Recommends that each Member should take the following principles and rules into consideration:

I.

(1) In order to ensure that each Member ratifying the Convention is in possession of the information necessary for a decision upon the application of minimum wage fixing machinery, the wages actually paid and the arrangements, if any, for the regulation of wages should be ascertained in respect of any trade or part of trade to which employers or workers therein request the application of the machinery and furnish information which shows *prima facie* that no arrangements exist for the effective regulation of wages and that wages are exceptionally low.

(2) Without prejudice to the discretion left to the Members by the Draft Convention to decide in which trades or parts of trades in their respective countries it is expedient to apply minimum wage fixing machinery, special regard might usefully be had to trades or parts of trades in which women are ordinarily employed.

II.

(1) The minimum wage fixing machinery, whatever form it may take (for instance, trade boards for individual trades, general boards for groups of trades, compulsory arbitration tribunals) should operate by way of investigation into the relevant conditions in the trade or part of trade concerned and consultation with the interests primarily and principally affected, that is to say, the employers and workers in the trade or part of trade, whose views on all matters relating to the fixing of the minimum rates of wages should in any case be solicited and be given full and equal consideration.

(2) (*a*) To secure greater authority for the rates that may be fixed, it should be the general policy that the employers and workers concerned, through representatives equal in number or having equal voting strength, should jointly take a direct part in the deliberations and decisions of the wage fixing body; in any case, where representation is accorded to one side, the other side should be represented on the same footing. The wage fixing body should also include one or more independent persons whose votes can ensure effective decisions being reached in the event of the votes of the employers' and workers' representatives being equally divided. Such independent persons should, as far as possible, be selected in agreement with or after consultation with the employers' and workers' representatives on the wage fixing body.

(*b*) In order to ensure that the employers' and workers' representatives shall be persons having the confidence of those whose interests they respectively represent, the employers and workers concerned should be given a voice as far as is practicable in the circumstances in the selection of their representatives, and if any organisations of the employers and workers exist these should in any case be invited to submit names of persons recommended by them for appointment on the wage fixing body.

(*c*) The independent person or persons mentioned in paragraph (*a*) should be selected from among men or women recognised as possessing the necessary qualifications for their duties and as being dissociated from any interest in the trade or part of trade concerned which might be calculated to put their impartiality in question.

(*d*) Wherever a considerable proportion of women are employed, provision should be made as far as possible for the inclusion of women among the workers' representatives and of one or more women among the independent persons mentioned in paragraph (*a*).

III.

For the purpose of determining the minimum rates of wages to be fixed, the wage fixing body should in any case take account of the necessity of enabling the workers concerned to maintain a suitable standard of living. For this purpose regard should primarily be had to the rates of wages being paid for similar work in trades where the workers are adequately organised and have concluded effective collective agreements, or, if no such standard of reference is available in the circumstances, to the general level of wages prevailing in the country or in the particular locality.

Provision should be made for the review of the minimum rates of wages fixed by the wage fixing bodies when this is desired by the workers or employers who are members of such bodies.

IV.

For effectively protecting the wages of the workers concerned and safeguarding the employers affected against the possibility of unfair competition, the measures to be taken to ensure that wages are not paid at less than the minimum rates which have been fixed should include:

(*a*) arrangements for informing the employers and workers of the rates in force;

(*b*) official supervision of the rates actually being paid; and

(*c*) penalties for infringements of the rates in force and measures for preventing such infringements.

(1) In order that the workers, who are less likely than the employers to have their own means of acquainting themselves with the wage fixing body's decisions, may be kept informed of the minimum rates at which they are to be paid, employers might be required to display full statements of the rates in force in readily accessible positions on the premises where the workers are employed, or in the case of home workers on the premises where the work is given out or returned on completion or wages paid.

(2) A sufficient staff of inspectors should be employed, with powers analogous to those proposed for factory inspectors in the Recommendation concerning the general principles for the organisation of systems of inspection adopted by the General Conference in 1923, to make investigations among the employers and workers concerned with a view to ascertaining whether the minimum rates in force are in fact being paid and taking such steps as may be authorised to deal with infringements of the rates.

As a means of enabling the inspectors adequately to carry out these duties, employers might be required to keep complete and authentic records of the wages paid by them, or in the case of home workers to keep a list of the workers with their addresses and provide them with wage books or other similar record containing such particulars as are necessary to ascertain if the wages actually paid correspond to the rates in force.

(3) In cases where the workers are not in general in a position individually to enforce, by judicial or other legalised proceedings, their rights to recover wages due at the minimum rates in force, such other measures should be provided as may be considered effective for preventing infringements of the rates.

B.

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation thinks it right to call the attention of Governments to the principle affirmed by Article 427 of the Peace Treaty that men and women should receive equal remuneration for work of equal value.

The foregoing is the authentic text of the Recommendation duly adopted by the General Conference of the International Labour Organisation during its Eleventh Session which was held at Geneva and declared closed the 16th day of June 1928.

IN FAITH WHEREOF we have appended our signatures this twenty-second day of June 1928.

The President of the Conference.

CARLOS SAAVEDRA LAMAS.

The Director of the International Labour Office.

ALBERT THOMAS.

APPENDIX VIII

STANDARDISED RATES OF WAGES.

As presented to the Committee by the Millowners' Association after the Joint Conferences held in January and February 1929 between the Sub-Committees of the Millowners' Association and the Joint Strike Committee.

PART I—SPINNING SECTION.

NOTES.

1. All the rates are based on full 10 hours working day for all adult male operatives.

2. The dear food allowances in all cases will remain the same as existing at present, *viz.*—

80 per cent. to all male piecework operatives;

70 per cent. to all fixed pay male and female operatives as well as female piecework operatives.

3. No further bonuses to be allowed as the existing bonuses have been consolidated in the rates of wages fixed.

4. Wages should be calculated to actual pies and percentage calculated on pies as well, but if the total amount shows 5 pies or less, then the amount is to be reduced to the next lower anna, or, if 6 pies and above, then the amount to be raised to the next higher anna.

5. In view of the wide variations of work, wages and designation of Head Jobbers, it has been decided not to include them in the present scheme of standardisation. *The number and pay of Head Jobbers are indicated in the list as a guidance to members only.*

6. All references to counts in the list are to nominal counts and not actual wrapped counts.

(List page 1.)

MIXING AND BLOW ROOM—(Working for Cards up to 45" wide).

Designation.	Wages.	Duties.	System or machines per man.
MIXING ROOM	Rs. a.		
Balestackers	20 0 *plus* 70 per cent.	Duties to be defined later.	The number required will vary according to position of godown to mixing department.
Nowganies	18 0 ,, 70 ,,		
Balebreaker Attendants ..	18 0 ,, 70 ,,		
Mixing Spreaders ..	15 0 ,, 70 ,,		
Muccadum for Mixing ..	21 0 ,, 70 ,,	Supervise Nowganies.	
Lattice Feeders ..	19 0 ,, 70 ,,	To carry cotton from mixing, feed, clean and oil machines and carry away droppings and fly.	One man should look after 2 lattice feeders or hopper feeders.
			Note.—Distance Clause to be inserted in the case of lattice feeders men.
BLOW ROOM			
Head Jobber	60 0 *plus* 70 per cent.	....	Pay for Blow Room of 8 lines.
	55 0 ,, 70 ,,	....	Pay for Blow Room of 7 lines.
	50 0 ,, 70 ,,	....	Pay for Blow Room of 6 lines and below.
Assistant Jobber ..	40 0 ,, 70 ,,	....	Pay for Blow Room of 8 lines.
	35 0 ,, 70 ,,	....	Pay for Blow Room of 7 lines.
	30 0 ,, 70 ,,	....	Pay for Blow Room of 6 lines and below.
Exhaust Opener Men ..	21 0 ,, 70 ,,	To break out laps, clean and oil machines and remove droppings.	One man to two machines.
Breaker Scutcher Men ..	21 0 ,, 70 ,,		
Intermediate Scutcher Men.	21 0 ,, 70 ,,	To put up laps on back, break out laps, carry to scale and stack, remove droppings and fly, clean and oil machines.	One man to two machines.
Finisher Scutcher Men ..	21 0 ,, 70 ,,		
Oilers	18 0 ,, 70 ,,	To bring oil to department, to care for same, to see that all bearings are oiled and cared for in blow room (not shafting).	
			(List page 2.)
Bardan Pickers. { Men .. Women ..	13 8 *plus* 70 per cent. 10 8 ,, 70 ,,	Duties to be defined later.	
Sweepers .. { Men .. Women ..	13 8 ,, 70 ,, 10 8 ,, 70 ,,		
Dropping Carriers ..	14 0 ,, 70 ,,	Where these men are kept, their duties are to remove all droppings and fly and other wastes from blow room to willow.	

Note.—The option will be given to the men of working one man on two machines or two men on three machines in the case of Hopper Feeder Men, Lattice Feeder Men, Exhaust or Breaker Scutcher Men, Intermediate Scutcher Men and Finisher Scutcher Men.

MIXING AND BLOW ROOM—(Working for Cards upto 45" wide)—*contd.*

Designation.	Wages.	Duties.	System or machines per man.
BLOW ROOM—*contd.*	Rs. a.		
Lattice Feeders ..	15 0 *plus* 70 per cent.	Duties to be defined later.	This pay to be given to machine men as here designated when one man attends to one machine.
Hand Feeders	15 0 ,, 70 ,,		
Exhaust and Lap Machine men.	16 0 ,, 70 ,,		
Breaker Scutcher men ..	16 0 ,, 70 ,,		
Intermediate Scutcher men.	16 0 ,, 70 ,,		
Finishing Scutcher men ..	16 0 ,, 70 ,,		
A further alternative may also be adopted as follows where deemed desirable:—			
Exhaust and Lap Machine men.	18 8 *plus* 70 per cent.	....	Two men to three machines.
Breaker Scutcher men ..	18 8 ,, 70 ,,		
Intermediate Scutcher men	18 8 ,, 70 ,,		
Finishing Scutcher men ..	18 8 ,, 70 ,,		

BLOW ROOM—MISCELLANEOUS. (List page 3.)

Designation.	Wages.	Duties.	System or machines per man.
	Rs. a.		
Bondas or Roller Lap or Thread Extractor man.	14 8 *plus* 70 per cent.	....	One man per machine.
Hard Waste Breaker, 6 cylinders.	15 0 ,, 70 ,,	Two men per machine; where two or more machines are conveniently situated, three men can easily manage, one to feed, one to bag broken waste and one to carry.	
Roving end breaker, single and double cylinders.	14 8 ,, 70 ,,	....	One man per machine.
Willow men	15 0 ,, 70 ,,	One man to feed, one man to bag and remove willowed waste to godown.	

Note.—Flue cleaning to be standardised later according to needs of individual Mills.

The Association does not recommend the employment of female labour on above machines on account of the risk of accident.

CARD ROOM. (List page 4.)

Designation.	Wages.	Duties.	System or machines per man.
	Rs. a.		
Head Jobber	70 0 *plus* 70 per cent.	To set and gauge cards after grinding.	One head jobber per 100/120 cards.
Assistant Jobber ..	35 0 ,, 70 ,,	To set and gauge cards after grinding.	One assistant jobber per 54/60 cards.
Grinders and Strippers ..	16 8 ,, 70 ,,	To grind with roller all cards, strip same and remove strips.	One pair per 20/24 cards.

CARD ROOM—*contd.*

Designation.	Wages.	Duties.	System or machines per man.
	Rs. a.		
Fly Gatherers	15 0 *plus* 70 per cent.	To remove fly from beneath the cards to willow department and keep backs of cards clean and assist generally.	One for 40/50 cards.
Lap Carriers	15 0 ,, 70 ,, ..	To carry laps from blow room and place laps on cards.	One to 27/30 cards.
Card Tenters or Can boys ..	14 8 ,, 70 ,, ..	To see cards are kept working, change cans and carry same to carding head of drawing.	One to each preparation.
Sweepers .. { Men ..	13 8 ,, 70 ,,	To sweep the floor, sort waste and remove same to godown.	One to 40/50 cards.
Sweepers .. { Women ..	10 8 ,, 70 ,,		
Flat Grinders ..	16 8 ,, 70 ,, (Single machine).	To clean flats when removed from cards, grind and test same.	One man to two flat grinding machines.
	18 0 ,, 70 ,, (Two machines).		
Oilers	18 0 ,, 70 ,, ..	To oil machines ..	One per 50 cards where found necessary.

Distance clause to be inserted.

DRAWING AND SPEED FRAMES. (List page 5.)

Designation.	Wages.	Duties.	System or machines per man.	Remarks.
	Rs. a.			
Head Jobber ..	65 0 *plus* 70 per cent. ..	....	One per 6 to 9 preparations.	
Assistant Jobber ..	40 0 ,, 70 ,, ..	....	One per 6 to 9 preparations.	
Doffer ..	28 0 ,, 70 ,, ..	....	Two per 6 to 9 preparations.	
Fitter (Frame) ..	50 0 ,, 70 ,, ..	Repairs to machines.	....	No coolies to fitter.
Drawing Tenter ..	33 4 per one head ..	....	One man to each machine or head	Rate of pay per hank to be arranged on sliding scale according to length of frame, hank working and efficiency.
Slubbing Tenters of 84 spindles.	38 0 per machine ..	....	One man to each slubbing frame upto 96 spindles. Over 96 spindles one back tenter when working coarse counts, i.e., 5 hank and below.	
Back Tenter ..	13 8 *plus* 70 per cent. ..	....	....	
Intermediate Tenters of 124 spindles.	35 0 per machine ..	....	One man to each intermediate frame.	
Roving Tenter of 160 spindles.	32 0 per machine ..	....	One man to each roving frame.	

DRAWING AND SPEED FRAMES—*contd.*

Designation.	Wages.	Duties.	System or machines per man.	Remarks.
When working 5 hank rovings or over, mills shall have the option of working upon the system of 2 roving frames per operative.	When two frames are worked the pay shall be as under :—			
	Rs. a.			
5 to 7 Hank roving ..	32 0 *plus* 30 per cent. *i.e.*, Rs. 42-0			
7·25 to 8 Hank roving .	32 0 „ 25 „ .. *i.e.*, Rs. 40-0			
Over 8 Hank roving ..	32 0 „ 20 „ .. *i.e.*, Rs. 38-8			
Doffer Boys ..	12 0 „ 70 „ ..	....	....	1 per [illegible] ing spindles upto 2·25 hank roving.
				Over 2·25 up-to 3·50, 1 per 160 spindles.
				Over 3·50 up-to 4·00, 1 per 240 spindles.
				Over 4·00 up-to 4·50, 1 per 300 spindles.
				4·50 and upwards 1 per 400 spindles.
Bigarries for full and empty bobbins.	14 0 „ 70 „ ..	....	It is difficult to recommend any definite number of bigarries to be employed in any mills when conditions of distances are not known. (1 per 3 preparations is suggested).	
Sweepers { Men ..	13 8 „ 70 „	....	One per 6 to 9 preparations.	
Sweepers { Women ..	10 8 „ 70 „			
				(List page 5-A.)
Oilers ..	18 0 „ 70 „	....	One per 6 to 9 preparations.	

Note.—Wages of all tenters are based on 26 days of 10 hours each.

*DRAWING.—DRAWING RATE WHEN WORKING WITH 3 MEN TO 3 HEAD—$\frac{7}{8}$ OF SLUBBING RATE.

(List page 6.)

Spindles.	10—12s	16s	20s Reeling	20s Warp	24s Warp	30s	40s and upwards.
				Rs. a.			
Slubbing :—							
72—76 ..				37 0			
78—82 ..				37 8			
84—86 ..				38 0			
88—96 ..				30 0			
96—104 ..	74%	76%	77%	40 0 78%	79%	80%	82% of calculated Hanks.
Hank Slubbing :—	·46 to ·62	·48 to ·64	·50 to ·68	·50 to ·70	·64 to ·74	·57 to ·90	·80 to 1·02
Intermediate:—							
100—108 ..				33 12			
110—118 ..				34 8			
120—128 ..				35 0			
130—138 ..				35 12			
140—148 ..	76%	78%	80%	36 8 81%	82%	83%	85% of calculated Hanks.
Hank Inter.	·9 to 1·3	1·0 to 1·2	1·1 to 1·34	1·20 to 1·5	1·4 to 1·75	1·68 to 1·95	2·2 to 2·5
Roving :—							
128—142 ..				30 8			
144—156 ..				31 4			
158—170 ..				32 0			
172—184 ..				33 4			
186—200 ..	80%	81%	82%	34 8 83%	84%	86%	88% of calculated Hanks 5·0 Hank and upto 6·25.
Hank Roving ..	Upto 2·25	2·26 to 3·0	2·26 to 3·25	3·26 to 4·0	3·25 to 4·0	4·1 to 5·0	92 per cent. of calculated Hanks 6·26 and over.

Cashmere, Cotton and Dyed Roving efficiency to be 3 per cent. less than above.

Note.—The equity of the percentages laid down on List page 6 will be discussed with the Labour Leaders after all Mills have submitted efficiency figures, and, if possible, the headings of columns 2-8 will be revised on a Hank Roving Basis.

*The efficiencies in this List were revised by agreement on the 9th March 1929, as shown in Appendix XIV.

Example of calculating rate per Hank from above basis. (List page 7.)

Slubbing Frame of 84 Spindles working ·56 Hank Slubbing on 20s Warp. On 78 per cent. efficiency, tenter should earn Rs. 38 per month. Calculated Hanks per 10 hours = 12·5.	Intermediate Frame of 124 Spindles working 1·26 to 1·5 Hank Inter on 20s Warp. On 81 per cent. efficiency, tenter should earn Rs. 35 per month. Calculated Hanks per 10 hours = 10 Hanks.	Roving Frame of 160 Spindles working 3·26 to 4·0 Hank Roving on 20s Warp. On 83 per cent. efficiency, tenter should earn Rs. 32 per month. Calculated Hanks per0 houcs = 8·25.
78 per cent. efficiency = 9·75 Hanks per day of 10 hours.	81 per cent. efficiency = 8·1 Hanks per day.	83 per cent. efficiency = 6·84 Hanks per day.
26 days—253·5 Hanks ..	26 days—210·6 Hanks ..	26 days—177·84 Hanks.
∴ 253·5 Hanks—Rs. 38 ..	∴ 210·6 Hanks—Rs. 35 ..	∴ 177·84 Hanks—Rs. 32.
= Pics 15·98 per Hank *plus* 80 per cent.	= Pics 17·7 per Hank *plus* 80 per cent.	= Pics 19·16 per Hank *plus* 80 per cent.
∴ 253·5 at 15·98 pics *plus* 80 per cent.	∴ 210·6 at 17·7 pics *plus* 80 per cent.	∴ 177·84 Hanks at 19·16 pics *plus* 80 per cent.
= Rs. 37-15-6 per month ..	= Rs. 34-14-0 per month ..	= Rs. 31-14-0 per month.

(List page 8.)

RING.

Designation.	Wages.		System.
			1 Head Jobber to a Weft Ring Room of 20/25,000 spindles.
			2 Line Jobbers to 20/25,000 spindles.
			4 Oilers and Banders to 22/22,500 spindles.
	Rs. a.		Lift. Spdls. Lift.
Head Jobber ..	75 0 *plus* 70 per cent.		
Line Jobbers ..	40 0 „ 70 „	WEFT ..	1 Doffer Jobber to 1,500 spindles upto and including 8s. 5½ to 6" 1,200 5"
Doffer Jobber..	30 0 „ 70 „		1 Doffer Jobber to 3,500 „ „ 3,000 „ spindles over 8s to 18s.
			1 Doffer Jobber to 4,500 „ „ 4,000 „ spindles over 18s to 28s.
			1 Doffer Jobber to 6,000 „ „ 5,500 „ spindles over 28s.
			1 Head Jobber to a Twist Ring Room of 20/25,000 spindles.
			2 Line Jobbers to a Twist Ring Room 20/25,000 spindles.
Siders (Single) .	On graduated scale according to whether twist or weft and length of frame (see List page 9).	TWIST ..	1 Doffer Jobber to 4,000 spindles below 20s.
			1 Doffer Jobber to 5,000 spindles 20s to 30s. 30s and over, 1 Doffer Jobber to 6,000 spindles.
			4 Oilers and Banders to 20/22,500 spindles.
	Rs. a.		*Note.*—Oiler and Bander one person.
Doffer Boys ..	12 0 *plus* 70 per cent...	..	Doffer Boys and Tarwallas*.
			4s to 8s .. 4½ Doffer Boys per 1,000 spindles. 2½ Tarwallas per 1,000 spindles.
Tarwalla ..	15 8 *plus* 70 per cent.—Twist. 15 8 *plus* 70 per cent.—Weft.	TWIST FRAME.	Over 8s and upto 20s. 2½ Doffer Boys per 1,000 spindles. 1½ Tarwallas per 1,000 spindles.
			Over 20s to 30s .. 2½ Doffer Boys per 1,000 spindles. 1·0 Tarwalla per 1,000 spindles.
			Over 30s .. 2·0 Doffer Boys per 1,000 spindles. 1·0 Tarwalla per 1,000 spindles.
Oilers ..	20 0 *plus* 70 per cent.		
Banders ..	20 0 „ 70 „	WEFT FRAME.	Up to 20s .. 3·0 Doffer Boys per 1,000 spindles. 1½ Tarwallas per 1,000 spindles.
Bigarries ..	14 0 „ 70 „		
Doff Carriers ..	14 0 „ 70 „		Over 20s to 30s .. 2½ Doffer Boys per 1,000 spindles. 1½ Tarwallas per 1,000 spindles.
			Over 30s .. 2·0 Doffer Boys per 1,000 spindles. 1·0 Tarwalla per 1,000 spindles.
Sweepers ..	Same pay as Card Room.		
	Rs. a.		
Fitter ..	50 0 *plus* 70 per cent.		1 per 60,000 spindles.

**Note.*—Revised list makes no Provision for Mills where Doffer Boys do the work of Tarwallas and special arrangements will be made for these Mills in consultation with the Labour Leaders on the same basis as above. This proviso will be added before putting the Scheme into force.

(List page 9.)

RING PIECERS' PAY ON SINGLE SIDE.

Spindles in frame	Twist.	Weft.
	Rs. a.	Rs. a.
Up to 300	15 8	16 0
301/360	16 0	16 8
361/420	16 8	17 0
421 and over	17 8	18 0

Note.—Counts 8s and below to have 8 annas per month extra both warp and weft.
All the above rates are subject to a 70 per cent. allowance.

(List page 10.)

MULE DEPARTMENT.

Designation	Wages	Duties	System or machines per man.	Remarks
	Rs.			
Head Jobbers ..	70 *plus* 70 per cent.	..	1 per 14 to 16 pairs of mules.	Below 7 pairs, no assistant required.
Assistant Jobber ..	40 *plus* 70 per cent.	..	1 per 7 to 8 pairs of mules.	
Bigarries ..	14 *plus* 70 per cent.	..	Same remarks as for Frames for number to be recommended.	

(List page 11.)

STANDARD BASIS OF MULE PIECEWORK RATES.

CONDENSER MULES.

Spinning 2s, 3s, 4s and 6s.

——		Spindles 340/410.	Spindles 412/468.	Wages.	Spindles 340/410.	Spindles 412/468.	Spindles 470/578.
	Counts ..	2s/3s	2s/3s	As Basis ..	4s/6s	4s/6s	4s/6s
Men per Pair of Mules.	Spinner ..	1	1	Rs. 35 *plus* 80 per cent.	1	1	1
	Engine Piecer ..	2	2	Rs. 25 *plus* 80 per cent.	2	2	2
	Side Piecer ..	5	5	Rs. 22 *plus* 80 per cent.	5	5	6
	Doff Carriers ..	..	..	Rs. 14 *plus* 70 per cent.	..	..	..

Production required to obtain Basic rate :—
2s = 38 ozs. ; 3s = 32 ozs. ; 4s = 24 ozs. ; 6s = 16 ozs. ; per spindle per day.
Example of working out the piece work rate for 100 lbs. :—
Pair of mules of 360 spindles. Producing 38 ozs. of 2s.
Total production of Spinner—

$$= \frac{\text{No. of Spindles} \times \text{No. of Mules} \times \text{production per Spindle per day} \times \text{No. of days worked.}}{16}$$

$$= \frac{360 \times 2 \times 38 \times 26}{16} \text{ pounds} = 44{,}460 \text{ pounds.}$$

Spinner's wages per month as per the above list—
: Rs. 63 including 80 per cent. allowance.
: 27·20 pies per 100 pounds including 80 per cent. allowance, or
15·11 pies per 100 pounds *plus* 80 per cent. allowance.
The wages payable in the present case will therefore be—

$$\frac{\text{: 44,460 (total production)} \times \text{15·11 (rate in pies per 100 lbs.)}}{100} \textit{ plus } 80 \text{ per cent. : Rs. 62-14-11.}$$

(List page 12.)

STANDARD BASIS OF MULE PIECEWORK RATES.

Broad Gauge Mules.

Spindles : 530 to 560. Counts : 3s to 8s Waste.

Men per pair of mules	Wages	3s 4s 5s	Wages	6s 8s
	Rs. a.			
Spinner .. 1	29 12 *plus* 80 per cent. = Rs. 53-8-9.		1 at Rs. 29-12 *plus* 80 per cent. = Rs. 53-8-9.	
Engine piecer .. 2	22 0 *plus* 80 per cent. = Rs. 39-9-7.		2 at Rs. 22-0 *plus* 80 per cent. = Rs. 39-9-7.	
Side Piecer .. 4	20 14 *plus* 80 per cent. = Rs. 37-9-0.		4 at Rs. 20-14 *plus* 80 per cent. = Rs. 37-9-0.	
Creelers .. 4	13 8 *plus* 70 per cent. = Rs. 22-15-0.		2 at Rs. 13-8 *plus* 70 per cent. = Rs. 22-15-0.	
Efficiency of each count to earn standard pay.		24oz. 22oz. 19oz.		16oz. 12oz.
		79 per cent.		80 per cent.

Spindles : 582 to 660. Counts : 3s to 8s Waste.

	Rs. a.			
Spinner .. 1	30 0 *plus* 80 per cent. = Rs. 54-0-0.		1 at Rs. 30 *plus* 80 per cent. = Rs. 54-0-0.	
Engine Piecer 2	22 4 *plus* 80 per cent. = Rs. 40-0-9.		2 at Rs. 22-4 *plus* 80 per cent. = Rs. 40-0-9.	
Side Piecer .. 4	21 2 *plus* 80 per cent. = Rs. 38-0-4.		4 at Rs. 21-2 *plus*, 80 per cent. = Rs. 38-0-4.	
Creelers .. 4	13 8 *plus* 70 per cent. = Rs. 22-15-0.		2 at Rs. 13-8 *plus* 70 per cent. = Rs. 22-15-0.	
Efficiency of each count to earn standard pay.		24oz. 22oz. 19oz.		16oz. 12oz.
		79 per cent.		80 per cent.

(List page 13.)

STANDARD BASIS OF MULE PIECEWORK RATES—*contd.*

Broad Gauge Mules.

Spindles : 530 to 580. Counts : 3s to 12s Cotton.

Men per pair of Mules.		Wages.	3s. 4s. 5s.	Wages	6s. 8s.	10s. 12s.
		Rs. a.				
Spinner	.. 1	29 8 *plus* 80 per cent. = Rs. 53-1-7.		1 at Rs. 29-8 *plus* 80 per cent. = Rs. 53-1-7.		
Engine Piecer	.. 2	21 11 *plus* 80 per cent. = Rs. 39-0-6.		2 at Rs. 21-11 *plus* 80 per cent. = Rs. 39-0-6.		
Side Piecer	.. 4	20 9 *plus* 80 per cent. = Rs. 37-0-0.		2 at Rs. 20-9 *plus* 80 per cent. = Rs. 37-0-0.		
Creelers	.. 4	13 8 *plus* 70 per cent. = Rs. 22-15-0.		2 at Rs. 13-8 *plus* 70 per cent. = Rs. 22-15-0.		
Efficiency of each count to earn standard pay.			26 oz. 24 oz. 18 oz. 79 per cent.		17 oz. 13 oz. 80 per cent.	9 oz. 7·5 oz. 82 per cent.

Spindles : 582 to 660. Counts : 3s to 5s. *Counts : 6s to 12s Cotton.*

		Rs. a.				
Spinner	.. 1	29 12 *plus* 80 per cent. = Rs. 53-8-9.		1 at Rs. 29-12 *plus* 80 per cent. = Rs. 53-8-9.		
Engine Piecer	.. 2	22 0 *plus* 80 per cent. = Rs. 39-9-7.		2 at Rs. 22-0 *plus* 80 per cent. = Rs. 39-9-7.		
Side Piecer	.. 4	20 14 *plus* 80 per cent. = Rs. 37-9-0.		3 at Rs. 20-14 *plus* 80 per cent. = Rs. 37-9-0.		
Creelers	.. 4	13 8 *plus* 70 per cent. = Rs. 22-15-0.		2 at Rs. 13-8 *plus* 70 per cent. = Rs. 22-15-0.		
Efficiency of each count to earn standard pay.			26 oz. 24 oz. 18 oz. 79 per cent.		17 oz. 13 oz. 80 per cent.	9 oz. 7·5 oz. 82 per cent.

(List page 14.)

STANDARD BASIS OF MULE PIECEWORK RATES—*contd.*

Spindles : 730 to 798. Counts : 6s to 12s Cotton.

Men per pair of mules of 730 and below 800 spindles	Wages.	6s.	Wages	8s. 10s. 12s.
	Rs. a.			
Spinner .. 1	29 8 *plus* 80 per cent. = Rs. 53-1-7.		1 @ Rs. 29-8 *plus* 80 per cent. = Rs. 53-1-7.	
Engine Piecers. 2	21 2 *plus* 80 per cent. = Rs. 38-0-4.		2 @ Rs. 21-2 *plus* 80 per cent. = Rs. 38-0-4.	
Side Piecers .. 4	20 9 *plus* 80 per cent. = Rs. 37.		3 @ Rs. 20-9 *plus* 80 per cent. = Rs. 37.	
Creelers .. 2	13 8 *plus* 70 per cent. = Rs. 22-15-0.		2 @ Rs. 13-8 *plus* 70 per cent. = Rs. 22-15-0.	
Efficiency of each count to earn standard pay.		17 oz. / 80 per cent.		13 oz. 9 oz. 7·5 oz / 82 per cent.

Spindles : 730 to 798. Counts : 14s and upto 28s.

—	Wages.	14s. 16s.	18s. 20s. 22s.	24s. 26s. 28s.
	Rs. a.			
Spinner .. 1	28 14 *plus* 80 per cent. = Rs. 51-15-6.			
Engine Piecers 2	21 2 *plus* 80 per cent. = Rs. 38-0-4.			
Side Piecers .. 3	20 0 *plus* 80 per cent. = Rs. 36.			
Creeler .. 1	13 8 *plus* 70 per cent. = Rs. 22-15-0.			
Efficiency of each count to earn standard pay.		7 oz. 6 oz. / 84 per cent.	5 oz. 4·5 oz. 4·25 oz. / 86 per cent.	4 oz. 3·75 oz. 3·50 oz. / 88 per cent.

Spindles : 730 to 798. Counts : 30s to 44s.

—	Wages.	30s. 32s. 34s.	36s. 38s. 40s. 42s. 44s.
	Rs. a.		
Spinner .. 1	28 14 *plus* 80 per cent. = Rs. 51-15-6.		
Engine Piecers 2	21 2 *plus* 80 per cent. = Rs. 38-0-4.		
Side Piecers ..	20 0 *plus* 80 per cent. = Rs. 36.		
Creeler .. 1	13 8 *plus* 70 per cent. = Rs. 22-15-0.		
Efficiency of each count to earn standard pay.		2·8 oz. 2·6 oz. 2·5 oz. / 90 per cent.	2·3 oz. 2·1 oz. 2·0 oz. 1·75 oz. 1·65 oz. / 94 per cent.

(List page 15.)

STANDARD BASIS OF MULE PIECEWORK RATES—*concld.*

Spindles : 800 to 840. Counts : 6s to 12s Cotton.

Men per Pair of Mules, 800 to 840 Spindles.	Wages.	6s. 8s.	10s. 12s.
	Rs. a.		
Spinner 1	31 2 *plus* 80 per cent. =Rs. 56-0-4.		
Engine Piecers .. 2	23 6 *plus* 80 per cent. =Rs. 42-1-0.		
Side Piecers .. 3	22 4 *plus* 80 per cent. =Rs. 40-0-9.		
Creelers 2	14 0 *plus* 70 per cent. =Rs. 23-12-9.		
Efficiency of each count to earn standard pay.		17 oz. 13 oz. — 80 per cent.	9 oz. 7·5 oz. — 82 per cent.

Spindles : 800 to 840. Counts : 14s to 28s.

——	Wages.	14s. 16s.	18s. 20s. 22s.	24s. 26s. 28s.
	Rs. a.			
Spinner 1	30 0 *plus* 80 per cent. =Rs. 54.			
Engine Piecers .. 2	22 4 *plus* 80 per cent. =Rs. 40-0-9.			
Side Piecers .. 3	21 2 *plus* 80 per cent. =Rs. 38-0-4.			
Creeler 1	13 8 *plus* 70 per cent. =Rs. 22-15-0.			
Efficiency of each count to earn standard pay.		7 oz. 6·0 oz. — 84 per cent.	5·0 oz. 4·5 oz. 4·25 oz. — 86 per cent.	4·00 oz. 3·75 oz. 3·50 oz. — 88 per cent.

Spindles : 800 to 840. Counts : 30s upwards.

——	Wages.	30s. 32s. 34s.	36s. 38s. 40s. 42s. 44s.
	Rs. a.		
Spinner 1	30 0 *plus* 80 per cent. =Rs. 54.		
Engine Piecers .. 2	22 4 *plus* 80 per cent. =Rs. 40-0-9.		
Side Piecers .. 2	21 2 *plus* 80 per cent. =Rs. 38-0-4.		
Creeler 1	13 8 *plus* 70 per cent. =Rs. 22-15-0.		
Efficiency of each count to earn standard pay.		2·8 oz. 2·6 oz. 2·5 oz. — 90 per cent.	2·3 oz. 2·1 oz. 2·0 oz. 1·75 oz. 1·65 oz. — 94 per cent.

Example of calculating rate per 100 lbs. from the above basis :—

Spinner working on a pair of Mules of 1,600 spindles on 20s. on 86 per cent. efficiency. Spinner should earn Rs. 54 per month. Calculated production per 10 hours = 5·24 ozs. per spindle (5·24 86 per cent.. efficiency = 4·5 ozs.) per spindle = production per pair per month 11,700 lbs. @ 49 pies *plus* 80 per cent. = Rs. 53-11-9 per month.

(List page 16.)

CONDENSER PLANT: WASTE.

——	Wage.	Number.
Blow Room—		
Feeder	Rs. a. 15 0 *plus* 70 per cent.	1 per Scutcher.
Scutcher men	16 0 *plus* 70 per cent.	1 „ „
Cards—		
Tenters	15 8 *plus* 70 per cent.	4 men to 5 Setts.
Grinders and Strippers ..	17 8 *plus* 70 per cent.	1 man to 2 „
Lap Carrier	15 0 *plus* 70 per cent.	1 man to 8 „
Derby Doubler	16 8 *plus* 70 per cent.	1 pair per machine.
Mule—		
Spinner	Piecework ..	1 per pair of 360/540 spindles.
Engine Piecer	Do. ..	2 „ „ 360/540 „
Side Piecer	Do. ..	5 „ „ 360/540 „

The piecework of above Mule men to be worked out to give—
Rs. 35 *plus* 80 per cent. to Spinner.
Rs. 25 *plus* 80 per cent. to Engine Piecer.
Rs. 22 *plus* 80 per cent. to Side Piecer.

Jobbers, Assistant Jobbers, Oilers, Coolies, Doffers and Sweepers on either type of waste system have not been allowed for owing to the size of plants being so various, and it is left to the discretion of respective mills to arrange the number accordingly.

Rates of pay to be similar to rates of pay on equivalent posts in Cards and Mule Departments.

(List page 17.)

WASTE PLANT.

(PREPARATION OF 4-CAN COILER SYSTEM).

——	Basic Wage.	Number.
Jobber	See note on List page 16	1 per plant where necessary.
	Rs. a.	
Grinders and Strippers ..	16 8 *plus* 70 per cent.	1 per 6 Cards.
Lap Carrier	15 0 *plus* 70 per cent.	1 „ 25 „
Fly Gatherer	15 0 *plus* 70 per cent.	1 „ 25 „
Card Tenters or Can Boys ..	15 0 *plus* 70 per cent.	1 „ 4/5 „
Derby Doublers	16 8 *plus* 70 per cent.	2 per Machine.
Can Rovers	P. W. *plus* 80 per cent.	1 Tenter per Machine. 1 Back Tenter per Machine.

52" Cards on 5-Can Coiler System to be paid same as Condenser Cards on List page 16.

Example:

Men required on a plant of 12-Breaker Card.
„ „ „ 1-Derby Doubler.
„ „ „ 10-Finisher Card.
„ „ „ 4-Can Roving of 126 spindles.

Jobber	1 man.
Grinders and Strippers.. ..	4 men.
Lap Carrier ..	1 man.
Fly Gatherer ..	1 man.
Card Tenters or Can Boys ..	5 men.
Derby Doublers ..	2 men.
Can Roving	4 Tenters; 4 Back Tenters.

Oilers, Sweepers and Coolies according to conditions.

(List page 18.)

CAN ROVING PIECEWORK.

ROVING FRAMES OF 100 to 160 SPINDLES.

Spindles.	Roving Tenters.	Back Tenters.
	Rs. a.	Rs. a.
100/120	17 8 *plus* 80 per cent.	13 0 *plus* 80 per cent.
122/140	18 0 *plus* 80 per cent.	13 4 „ 80 „
142/160 .. .	18 8 *plus* 80 per cent.	13 8 „ 80 „

Rate per Hank to be worked out on 65 per cent. of calculated Hanks as these plants are generally working waste.

It is not considered necessary to employ doffers as one Roving Tenter and one Back Tenter per frame should be ample to cope with all work. See note on List page 16.

(List Page 19.)

REELING

Datal Hands :

Overseer—(where necessary) Rs. 35 *plus* 70 per cent.
Naiken Rs. 30 upto 150 reelers ; if more, an assistant at Rs. 25.

		Rs. a.	
Hank and Thread Counter—	(where necessary)	.. 15 0 *plus*	70 per cent.
Bigarries	(where necessary)	.. 14 0 „	70 per cent.
Sweeper	(where necessary)	.. 10 8 „	70 per cent.
Carpenter	(where necessary)	.. 35 0 „	70 per cent.

PROPOSED STANDARD REELING PIECEWORK RATES.

BASIS HANK OF 7 LEAS OF 120 YARDS ; 40 SPINDLES POWER REEL.

Count.	Rate.	Basis hanks.	Weight in lbs.	Remarks.
2s	4 annas.	150	75·00	30 spindles hank reel.
4s	„	160	40·00	
6/6½s	„	240	40·00	
8/8½s	„	280	35·00	
10/10½s	„	340	34·00	
12/12½s	„	360	30·00	
14s	„	400	28·57	
16s	„	440	27·50	
18s	„	440	24·44	
20s	„	480	24·00	
22s	„	480	21·82	
24s	„	480	20·00	
26s	„	480	18·46	
28s	„	520	18·57	
30s	„	520	17·33	
34s	„	520	15·30	
36s	„	520	14·34	
40s	„	520	13·00	
50s	„	520	10·40	
60s	„	520	8·66	
2/6s	„	160	53·33	
3/6s	„	120	60·00	
2/10s	„	160	32·00	
2/20s	„	340	34·00	
2/30s	„	440	29·33	
2/40s	„	480	24·00	

Note.—The above rates are for 5″ and 6″ lift twist bobbins and Mule twist Cops.
5″ lift weft pirns 20 per cent. extra.
6″ „ 10 per cent. extra.
7″ „ 5 per cent. extra.
Hand reeling—deduct 20 hanks from above.
For X reeling—40 hanks extra on above.

The rates given in the above table are subject to a 70 per cent. allowance.

(List page

BUNDLING AND BALING.

Overseer	Rs. 30 *plus* 70 per cent. up to 10 bales per day; above Rs. 35 *plus* 70 per cent.
Weigher	As. 2 per 100 bundles of 10 lbs. *plus* 80 per cent.
Knotter	As. 6 ,, ,, ,,
Pressers or Bundlers ..	As. 5 ,, ,, ,,
Wrapper or Bundle Boy ..	As. 1/3 ,, ,, ,,
Balers	1 anna per bale *plus* 80 per cent.

	Rs.
Labeller	14 per month *plus* 70 per cent.
Number Marker ..	18 ,, ,,
Coolies	14 ,, ,,
Nawganies or Bigarries ..	18 ,, ,,
Balestackers	20 ,, ,,
Hoop Cutters ..	17 ,, ,,

Above piecework rates are for counts 6s to 30s ordinary bundles with or without cardboards.

For 5 lbs. Bundles, an increase of 15 per cent. on above rates to be given.

For counts 31s to 40s *plus* 10 per cent. on the above.
,, ,, 41s to 50s ,, 20 per cent. ,, ,,
,, ,, 51s to 60s ,, 30 per cent. ,, ,,

In case of Mills that find it is to their advantage to arrange a contract for Bundling and Baling, it is suggested that As. 16½ per 100 bundles is a suitable rate excluding pay of Overseers.

ALTERNATIVE TO PIECEWORK.

Fixed Rates.

	Rs.
Weigher	20 *plus* 70 per cent. per month.
Knotter	22 ,, 70 ,, ,,
Presser	23 ,, 70 ,, ,,
Bundle Boy	14 ,, 70 ,, ,,
Baler	20 ,, 70 ,, ,,

(List page 21.)

MISCELLANEOUS DEPARTMENTS.

10-Hour Day.

——	Wages.	Number.
Carpenter	Rs. 35 *plus* 70 per cent.	2 per 40/45,000 spindles.
Mochi	18 *plus* 70 per cent.	2 ,, ,, ,,
Wrapping Boy	14 *plus* 70 per cent.	2 ,, ,, ,,
Roller Coverers ..	1 at Rs. 25 *plus* 70 per cent. 2 at Rs. 18 *plus* 70 per cent.	3 per 40/45,000 spindles.
Rope Splicers	Rs. 20 *plus* 70 per cent.	1 per 100 Ring Frames when rope drive.

LINE LEVELLING.

	Wages.	Number.
	Rs.	
Blow Room	50 *plus* 70 per cent.	1 Fitter per 8 lines.
Cards	50 ,, 70 ,,	1 Card clother per 140 cards and setter of backs.
Frame	50 ,, 70 ,,	1 Frame fitter per 14 preparations.
Ring	50 ,, 70 ,,	1 Ring Fitter per 40,000 spindles.
Mule	50 ,, 70 ,,	1 Mule fitter when more than 7 pairs of mule.

In view of varying nature and conditions of machinery at different mills, it is suggested that the number of men employed on Line Levelling Staff be left to the discretion of the management concerned. The above rates are given as an indication.

(List page 22.)

DOUBLLING.

Men.	Pay.	Number.
	Rs.	
Sidors	15 *plus* 70 per cent.	1 per 140/160 spindles.
Doffers	12 ,, 70 ,,	1 ,, 450/500 ,,

In view of the varying types of Doubling and variety of counts doubled, this list can be standardised at a later date, but in the meantime for ordinary counts, *i.e.*, 2 and 3 fold 10s to 20s the above may be taken as a guide.

APPENDIX VIII—(*contd.*)

PART II—WEAVING SECTION.

NOTES.

1. All the rates are based on full 10 hours working day for all adult male operatives.

2. The dear food allowances in all cases will remain the same as existing at present, *viz.*—

80 per cent. to all male piecework operatives;

70 per cent. to all fixed pay male and female operatives as well as female piecework operatives.

3. No further bonuses to be allowed as the existing bonuses have been consolidated in the rates of wages fixed.

4. Wages should be calculated to actual pies and percentage calculated on pies as well, but if the total amount shows 5 pies or less, then the amount is to be reduced to the next lower anna, or, if 6 pies and above, then the amount to be raised to the next higher anna.

5. In view of the wide variations of work, wages and designation of Head Jobbers, it has been decided not to include them in the present scheme of standardisation. *The number and pay of Head Jobbers are indicated in the list as a guidance to members only.*

6. All references to counts in the list are to nominal counts and not actual wrapped counts.

(List page 1)

GREY WINDING.

Datal Hands.—The Association recommends that the employment of Head Jobbers and Assistant Jobbers be discontinued, and has not therefore provided a rate for them.

Naikens.—Rs. 30 plus 70 per cent. without any bonus, for under 3,000 winding spindles. Over this number, an Assistant Naiken at Rs. 25 plus 70 per cent. to be employed.

Begarries.—To deliver yarn from spinning to bins and from bins or baskets to scale, wage—Rs. 14 plus 70 per cent. Number cannot be fixed on account of varying distances and conditions.

Bander and Oiler.—Upto 3,000 grey winding spindles, one man at Rs. 18 plus 70 per cent. Over 3,000 grey winding spindles, Rs. 20 plus 70 per cent.

Duties:—To keep all spindles running effieiently and oil machines.

Number Marker.—Up to 3,000 grey winding spindles, Rs. 14 plus 70 per cent. Above 3,000 grey winding spindles, Rs. 16 plus 70 per cent. Where work is sufficient, two men at Rs. 14 plus 70 per cent. may be employed.

Duties:—To number bobbins and see to proper stacking of same.

Bobbin Carrier.—Wage Rs. 14 plus 70 per cent.

Duties:—To deliver full warper's bobbins to creels or bobbin racks and return empty bobbins to winding frames. The number cannot be fixed and each mill will vary same to suit existing conditions.

Sweepers.—Women: Rs. 10-8 plus 70 per cent. Men: Rs. 13-8 plus 70 per cent. One sweeper to 600-800 looms for all weaving preparatory departments.

Hoistman.—Throughout the mill where necessary, Rs. 17 plus 70 per cent.

(List page 2.)

COLOUR WINDING FROM HANK BOBBIN ON DRUM ALSO SPLIT DRUM AND/OR VERTICAL SPINDLE WINDER.

Basis—25 lbs. of 20s coloured yarn per day. No. of Drums—10.

Average Rs. 14 plus 70%

Counts.	*Rate per 10 lbs.*	*Counts*	*Rate per 10 lbs.*
2s and below ..	Pies 18	24s	Pies 53
3s	„ 21	26s	„ 56
4s	„ 24	28s	„ 60
6s	„ 27	30s	„ 64
8s	„ 30	32s	„ 67
10s	„ 33	34s	„ 70
12s	„ 36	36s	„ 73
14s	„ 39	38s	„ 76
16s	„ 42	40s	„ 80
18s	„ 45	42s	„ 84
20s	„ 48	44s	„ 88
22s	„ 50		

N. B.—Two-fold yarn at the price of its resultant count less two, *i.e.*, 2/30s—13s; three and more fold yarns as actual resultant count. The number of drums or spindles per winder to be adjusted to the counts being wound so as to permit an average winder earning the wage that would be obtained on the standard of 10 drums or spindles on 20s. Winding coloured yarn from cheeses to warper bobbin on grey winder or vertical spindle coloured winding machine to be paid at Grey rates. Winding coloured yarn from cones to warper bobbins on grey winding or vertical spindle coloured winding machine to be paid at Grey rates, less 10 per cent.

Note.—*Turkey Red and Aniline Black in all winding Departments to be paid 10 per cent. extra. Bleached and Cashmere (Dyed Cotton) to be taken as Coloured Yarn when in hanks.*

All winding, warping and sizing piece work list to be tried out. The basic wage to be as shown on each sheet.

In arriving at the average wage the lowest one-fourth wage-earners should be eliminated, this to cover learners and inefficients and the average of remaining three-fourths to be ascertained.

(List page 3.,

GREY WINDING RATES.

Basis : 20s at 9 annas per 100 pounds—20 Spindles per Winder
Basis : Twist Ring Bobbins—6″ Lift.
Average Rs. 12-8 plus 70%

Counts.	*Up to 5″ Lift.*	*5½″ Lift.*	*6″ Lift.*
	as. ps.	as. ps.	as. ps.
6s and below	7 3	7 0	6 0
8s	7 6	7 3	7 0
10s	7 10	7 7	7 4
12s	8 4	8 0	7 7
14s	8 6	8 3	8 0
16s	9 0	8 9	8 6
18s	9 3	9 0	8 9
20s Standard	9 6	9 3	9 0
22s	10 0	9 9	9 6
24s	10 6	10 3	10 0
26s	11 0	10 10	10 6
28s	11 6	11 4	11 0
30s	12 0	11 10	11 6
32s	12 6	12 4	12 0
34s	13 0	12 10	12 6
36s	13 6	13 4	13 0
38s	14 0	13 10	13 6
40s	14 9	14 4	14 0
42s	15 3	14 10	14 6
44s	15 9	15 4	15 0

Mule cops to be taken on the basis of 5″ lift.

No. 60 G. F. Universal Winder and Schlafhirst "M" and "B" pattern to be paid 12½ per cent. less than the above rates with the number of spindles adjusted to the above proportions allowing for the different type of machine.

Note.—The number of spindles per winder to be adjusted to the counts being wound so as to permit of an average winder earning the wage that would be obtained on the standard of 20 spindles for 20s.

No provision has been made for winding, warping and sizing artificial silk. These lists will be prepared after 6 months' further experience. The present rates to continue for the time being.

Cashmere yarn, Mock Grandrelle yarn and yarn spun from Dyed cotton (dyed roving) to be paid 5 per cent. more over Grey winding rates when wound from Ring bobbins.

(List page 4.)

HANK TO PIRN ON CUP TYPE WINDING MACHINES.

Basis of production—daily 20lbs. of 20s.

Average Rs. 14 plus 70%

	Pies per 10 Pounds.
8s and below	36
10s	39
12s	42
14s	45
16s	48
18s	51
20s	54
22s	57
24s	60
26s	64
28s	70
30s	75

Note.—The number of spindles per winder to be adjusted to the counts being wound so as to permit an average winder earning the wage that would be obtained on the standard of 20 pounds of 20s.

Hank to pirn Universal Winding Machines—above rates less 10 per cent.

COLOURED PIRN WINDING.

From warper's bobbins, cheese to pirn on Cup Type Winding Machines.

Basis : 180 pies per 100 lbs. of 20s.

Average Rs. 14 plus 70%

	Pies per 100 Pounds.
8s and below	128
10s	135
12s	142
14s	150
16s	158
18s	170
20s	180
22s	190
24s	200
26s	210
28s	225
30s	240

Note.—From cones to pirns on Cup Type Winding Machine-rates as above less 30 per cent.

The number of spindles per winder to be adjusted to the counts being wound so as to permit an average winder earning the wage that would be obtained on the standard of 180 pies per 100 pounds of 20s.

(List page 5.)

WINDING FROM TWIST OR WEFT BOBBINS TO UNIVERSAL WINDING No. 90 PIRN WINDING MACHINE.

Spindle Speed 2,000-2,500 revolutions per minute.

Rate in pies per 100 lbs. of Yarn.

Average Rs. 13 plus 70%

TWIST BOBBINS.						*WEFT PIRNS.*							
Counts.	*Spindles.*	*Lift.*			*Spindles.*	*Lift.*			*Spindles.*	*Lift.*			
		5″	5½″	6″		4½″	5″	5½″		6″	6½″	7″	
		Pies	per	100 lbs.		Pies	per	100 lbs.		Pies	per	100 lbs.	
8s and below	8	170	165	160	6	215	205	195	8	185	175	170	
9s ..	10	175	170	165	8	220	210	200	10	190	180	175	
10s ..	10	180	175	170	8	225	215	205	10	195	185	180	
11s ..	10	185	180	175	8	230	220	210	10	200	190	185	
12s ..	10	185	180	175	8	230	220	210	10	200	190	185	
13s ..	12	190	185	180	10	235	225	215	12	205	195	190	
14s ..	12	190	185	180	10	235	225	215	12	205	195	190	
15s ..	12	195	190	185	10	240	230	220	12	210	200	195	
16s ..	12	200	195	190	10	250	240	230	12	215	205	200	
18s ..	15	205	200	195	12	255	245	235	15	220	210	205	
20s ..	15	210	205	200	12	260	250	240	15	230	220	210	
22s ..	18	220	215	210	15	270	260	250	18	240	230	220	
24s ..	18	230	225	220	15	280	270	260	18	250	240	230	
26s ..	18	240	235	230	15	290	280	270	18	260	250	240	
28s ..	20	255	250	245	18	305	295	285	20	275	265	255	
30s ..	20	270	265	260	18	320	310	300	20	290	280	270	
32s ..	20	290	285	280	18	340	330	320	20	310	300	290	

Half counts to be calculated at the next higher rate, *e.g.*, 8½s to be called 9s.

For "S" type Winder –the above rates less 20 per cent.

Mule cops to be taken on the basis of 1″ less lift *e.g.*, 6″ Lift, to be taken as 5″ Lift for calculating rate.

(List page 6.)

FROM WARPER'S BOBBIN, CHEESE AND CONES TO No. 90 UNIVERSAL PIRN WINDER.

Spindle speed—2,500. **20 Spindles per Winder on 20s.**

Average Rs. 13 plus 70%

	Pies per 100 lbs.	
	Cones.	*Warper's Bobbins and Cheeses.*
8s and below	88	105
10s	94	112
12s	100	120
14s	106	128
16s	118	135
18s	118	142
20s	124	150
22s	131	158
24s	138	165
26s	146	172
28s	156	188
30s	166	200
32s	176	208

Note.—The number of spindles per winder to be adjusted to the count being wound so as to permit an average winder earning the wage that would be obtained on 20s count 20 spindles per winder.

(List page 7.)

UNIVERSAL CHEESE WINDING No. 50 AND No. 160 LEESONA OR SIMILAR TYPES OF MACHINES.

Average Rs. 13 plus 70%

Rate for 3" and 6" cheeses per 100 lbs.

8s	165 pies per 100 lbs.
10s	165 " " " "
12s	170 " " " "
14s	170 " " " "
16s	170 " " " "
18s	180 " " " "
20s	180 " " " "
22s	185 " " " "
24s	185 " " " "
26s	190 " " " "
28s	190 " " " "
30s	195 " " " "

Note.—Spindles to be increased as counts go finer to enable winder to earn average pay.

Winding Yarn for Doubling.

2, 3 or 4 ends up in the Stop Motion—10 per cent. on above rates to be calculated as under :—

Example.—When winding say 20s with three ends up take the total weight wound and pay the rate, on this weight, as for 20s in the list plus ten per cent.

DRUM WINDING. (List page 8.)

Datal Hands.—The Association recommends the abolition of Head Jobbers and Assistant Jobbers in this Department.

Naiken.—Rs. 30 plus 70 per cent.

Number Marker.—To be done by Grey Winding Man in view of the fact that when colour is wound there is a reduction in grey winding work. Where department is large enough for the employment of a separate man the pay to be Rs. 14 plus 70 per cent.

Duties : —To number bobbins and to see to the correct stacking of same.

PIRN WINDING—Cup Type.

1 **Jobber** at Rs. 25 plus 70 per cent.

PIRN WINDING—Universal Type of Machine No. 90.

1 **Jobber** at Rs. 35 plus 70 per cent.

If combined with other similar type of machines in same department and/or if there are above 30 machines of No. 90 style, the assistance of an Oiler at Rs. 18 plus 70 per cent. may be allowed.

Labourers.—The number cannot be fixed and each mill will vary same to suit existing conditions.

Wages.—Rs. 14 plus 70 per cent.

Where necessary for samples and cleaning bobbins, etc., the following fixed wages to be paid :—

Coloured winding	.. ..	.. 8 as. plus	70 per cent. per day.
Grey winding	.. ..	.. 7 as. ,,	70 per cent. ,,
Universal winding	.. ..	.. 8 as. ,,	70 per cent. ,,

(List page 9.)

WARPING DEPARTMENT.

Warping.—

Jobber.—One to a Department where deemed necessary.

Wage : —Rs. 35 plus 70 per cent.

Where mills have one Head Jobber for Warping and Sizing Departments, combined wages to be Rs. 75 plus 70 per cent.

Warper.—One to each machine.

Wage :—Piecework. Average Rs. 52.

Fixed Wage —Re. 1/2+70 per cent. when on samples or special work.

Creel Boys.—One to 2 machines.

Wage : —Rs. 12 plus 70 per cent.

Beam Carriers.—As required.

Wage : —Rs. 19 plus 70 per cent.

Piece Work Rates :

All counts the same rate :

Grey

Upto 380 ends	..	..	..	..	As.	6	per 10,000 yards.
„ 381-400 ends		..	..	..	„	6¼	„ „
„ 401-420 „		..	..	..	„	6½	„ „
„ 421-440 „		..	..	..	„	6¾	„ „
„ 441-460 „		..	..	..	„	7	„ „
„ 461-480 „		..	..	..	„	7¼	„ „
„ 481-500 „		..	..	..	„	7½	„ „
„ 501-520 „		..	..	..	„	7¾	„ „

Plus As. 2 per Beam

Rates for Warping Colour Single Yarn in Annas per 10,000 Yards.

	PATTERN BEAMS			Self Colour with or without border 96 % to 100 %
	Above 16 ends and upto 25 % Colour	26% to 50%	Pattern Beam 51 % to 100 %	
Upto 380 ends	8½	9	9½	9
„ 381-400 ends ..	8¾	9¼	9¾	9¼
„ 401-420 „ ..	9	9½	10	9½
„ 421-440 „ ..	9¼	9¾	10¼	9¾
„ 441-460 „ ..	9½	10	10½	10
„ 461-480 „ ..	9¾	10¼	10¾	10¼
„ 481-500 „ ..	10	10½	11	10½
„ 501-520 „ ..	10¼	10¾	11¼	10¾
Plus per Beam warped ..	2½	3	3	2½

Coloured Beam with 16 ends of Colour or less to be treated as Grey.

SIZING. (List page 10.)

Head Jobber.—One to a Department.

Wage : —Rs. 60 plus 70 per cent. upto and including 10 slashers, over 10, Rs. 65 plus 70 per cent.

Where mills have one Head Jobber for Warping and Sizing Departments, combined wages to be Rs. 75 plus 70 per cent.

Fitter.—If necessary Rs. 35 plus 70 per cent.

Sizing Machines.

1 Front Sizer and 1 Back Sizer per machine on Piecework or Fixed Wage.

Fixed Wages.—Rs. 50 plus 70 per cent.—Front Sizer, to be increased to Rs. 55 after two years' satisfactory service. Back Sizer to be paid 50 per cent. of the above.

Size Mixing.

Head Size Mixer.—1 to a Department.
Wage :—Rs. 22 plus 70 per cent.

Size Mixers.—2 men for 1,000 looms.
Wages : Rs. 16 plus 70 per cent.

Labourers.—Where necessary, Rs. 15 plus 70 per cent.

Beam Carriers.—2 to 1,000 looms.
Wages : Rs. 20 plus 70 per cent.

PIECE-WORK RATES FOR SIZERS. (List page 11.)

Counts.	Rate for Grey and upto 25 per cent. colour.		Allowance for Gaiting		Rate above 25 per cent. colour.	Gaiting above 25 per cent.
	Grey.	Tinting.	Grey and Tinting upto 16 ends colour.	Above 16 ends and upto 25 per cent.		
Up to 8s	38	41	2	5	40	6
Above 8s & upto & including 10s	36	39	2	5	38	6
„ 10s „ 12s	34	37	2	5	36	6
„ 12s „ 14s	32	35	2½	5½	34	6½
„ 14s „ 16s	30	33	3	6	32	7
„ 16s „ 20s	27	30	4	7	29	8
„ 20s „ 24s	24	27	4	7	26	8
„ 24s „ 30s	21	24	5	8	23	9
„ 30s „ ..	18	21	6	9	20	10

Note.—The above rates are in annas per 12,000 yards per 2,000 ends.

For each 100 ends above 2,000 an addition of ¼ anna per 12,000 yards to be paid.

For each 100 ends less than 2,000 a deduction of ¼ anna per 12,000 yards to be made.

No deductions for ends below 1,200.

Fractions of a number of ends to be treated as the next higher ends, *i.e.*, 1,740 ends to be treated as 1,800 ends.

WHERE SIZE PER CENT. ON YARN IS ABOVE 50 PER CENT. 10 PER CENT. EXTRA ON ABOVE RATES, BUT NOT ON GAITING ALLOWANCES.

DRAWING-IN

(List page 12.)

Jobber.—One to a department—

Up to 1,000 looms, Rs. 35 *plus* 70 per cent.

1,000 to 2,000 looms, Rs. 40 *plus* 70 per cent.

Over 2,000 looms, Rs. 45 *plus* 70 per cent.

One Assistant at Rs. 30 *plus* 70 per cent. in sheds over 2,000 looms when on fancies, if found necessary.

Drawers.—As required. Wage :—Piece-work.

Reachers.—As required. Wage :—Piece-work (50 per cent. of Drawer's Rate).

One Heald Repairer.—Rs. 18 *plus* 70 per cent.
One Reed Repairer.— Rs. 18 *plus* 70 per cent.
} Where two jobs can be combined in small sheds, Rs. 20 *plus* 70 per cent.

Beam Carriers.— Two for 1,000 looms. Wages :—Rs. 18 *plus* 70 per cent.

Duties :—To bring beams from sizing to drawers.

Samples.—Fixed wages Re. 1-2 and 70 per cent. per day.

PIECE-WORK RATES FOR DRAWING-IN 1,000 ENDS.

Dosuti (Double drawn)	14 pies.
Plain and Twill including plain dhoties with borders up to 2″ width	21 ,,
Plain and Twill including plain dhoties with borders 2″ and over	22 ,,
Susis	22 ,,

All Over Straight vandyke.	Patterns : point or drafts.	Spaced Drafts and Fancy Draft and dobby stripes.	Dobby Dhotie border styles.	Dobby Dhotie in the borders and runners.
5 shaft	24 pies	28 pies	....	....
6 ,,	26 ,,	30 ,,	....	....
7 ,,	28 ,,	32 ,,	....	....
8 ,,	30 ,,	34 ,,	22 pies	24 pies.
9 ,,	32 ,,	36 ,,	24 ,,	26 ,,
10 ,,	34 ,,	38 ,,	24 ,,	26 ,,
11 ,,	36 ,,	40 ,,	24 ,,	26 ,,
12 ,,	38 ,,	42 ,,	24 ,,	26 ,,
13 ,,	40 ,,	44 ,,	26 ,,	28 ,,
14 ,,	42 ,,	46 ,,	26 ,,	28 ,,
15 ,,	44 ,,	48 ,,	26 ,,	28 ,,
16 ,,	46 ,,	50 ,,	26 ,,	28 ,,

Drills 2 and 1, and 3 and 1 are covered by the first list of All Over Patterns.

Two Beam Work.—3 pies over the above rates.

Double Drawn.—3 quarters of the above rates.

Slider Healds to be paid 10 per cent. extra over above rates.

(List page 13.)

STANDARD LIST FOR WEAVING.

List calculated in pies showing uniform standard rate per square yard for all classes of cloth including allowances for percentages of colour and artificial silk per picks per inch ranging from 30 to 70. Picks not included in the following list to be taken in proportion.

(Standard rates in Pies per square yard)

Picks per Inch.	Grey Plain Cloth.	Colour			Artificial silk		
		More than 16 ends and upto and including 25 per cent. and Dyed Cotton Sorts and Mock Grandrille.	26 to 50 per cent.	51 to 100 per cent.	Upto and including 25 per cent.	Above 25 per cent. and upto and including 50 per cent.	Above 50 per cent.
30	1·02	1·09	1·20	1·30	1·50	1·56	1·62
32	1·09	1·16	1·28	1·38	1·60	1·66	1·73
34	1·16	1·23	1·36	1·46	1·70	1·77	1·83
36	1·22	1·31	1·44	1·55	1·80	1·87	1·94
38	1·30	1·38	1·52	1·63	1·90	1·97	2·05
40	1·36	1·45	1·60	1·72	2·00	2·08	2·16
42	1·43	1·52	1·68	1·81	2·10	2·18	2·27
44	1·50	1·60	1·76	1·89	2·20	2·29	2·38
46	1·56	1·67	1·84	1·98	2·30	2·39	2·48
48	1·63	1·74	1·92	2·06	2·40	2·49	2·59
50	1·70	1·82	2·00	2·15	2·50	2·60	2·70
52	1·77	1·89	2·08	2·24	2·60	2·70	2·81
54	1·84	1·96	2·16	2·32	2·70	2·81	2·92
56	1·90	2·03	2·24	2·41	2·80	2·91	3·02
58	1·97	2·10	2·32	2·49	2·90	3·01	3·13
60	2·04	2·18	2·40	2·58	3·00	3·12	3·24
62	2·10	2·25	2·48	2·66	3·10	3·22	3·35
64	2·18	2·32	2·56	2·75	3·20	3·33	3·45
66	2·24	2·39	2·64	2·84	3·30	3·43	3·56
68	2·31	2·47	2·72	2·92	3·40	3·53	3·67
70	2·38	2·54	2·80	3·01	3·50	3·64	3·78

Note.—Plain cloth includes cloth containing up to 16 ends other than Dhoties for which Colour Allowances are made.

(List page 14.)

ALLOWANCES.

Splits.—Add 5 per cent. for each split cut or uncut.

Note.—The calculations for a split cloth will be made on the full width of the cloth assuming splits to be uncut.

Reeds.—Allowance for fine reeds for various counts of warp. Reeds shown below are standard.

One per cent. to be added for each one dent per inch finer.

Counts of Warp.	Standard. Reed or ends per inch for plain; two ends in a dent.	Standard. Ends per inch for Drill Sateen or Ducks; three or more ends in a dent.
Upto and including 8s ..	36	54
Above 8s and upto and including 12s ..	40	60
„ 12s „ 14s ..	44	66
„ 14s „ 18s ..	48	72
„ 18s „ 22s ..	52	78
„ 22s „ 26s ..	56	84
„ 26s „ 30s ..	60	90
„ 30s „ 40s ..	68	102
„ 40s „ 50s ..	72	108
Above 50s	80	120

The allowance is to be given at the counts next higher than above standards, *i.e.*, at 46 reed for 10s to 14s warp for Plain and 69 for Drill.

Shafts.—Allowance for Shafts :—

4/6 shafts	12 per cent.
7 „	16 „
8 „	16 „
9 „	16 „
10 „	18 „
11 „	18 „
12 „	19 „
13 „	20 „
14 „	22 „
15 „	23 „
16 „	24 „
17 „	25 „
18 „	26 „
19 „	27 „
20 „	28 „

The above allowance does not apply to Dobby dhoties or Cumber Board work.

Where Cumber Board work is employed for border and shaft work for ground, then allowance must be taken for both, *i.e.*, 12 shafts for Cumber and 8 for Dobby ground; allowance would then be :

10 for Cumber Board.
19 for Dobby Ground.

29 per cent. Total Allowance.

Where more than one count of yarn is used, the correct calculated average to be taken.

(List page 15.)

WEFT ALLOWANCES AND DEDUCTIONS.

Counts.	Mule Cops.	Upto 5" lift.	5½" lift Ring Pirns (additions).	6" lift and lifts over 6" but below 7".	7" and over.	Universal (additions).
	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
3s and below	56	65	60	50	35	35
4s ..	44	59	48	40	28	28
5s ..	35	53	44	33	22	22
6s ..	30	48	40	28	18	18
7s ..	25	43	35	23	16	16
8s ..	22	38	30	20	13	13
9s ..	17	31	24	16	10	10
10s ..	14	26	20	13	8	8
11s ..	11	20	15	10	7	7
12s ..	9	17	12	8	6	6
13s ..	8	12	9	7	4½	4½
14s ..	7	11	8	6	3	3
15s ..	6	10	7	5	Standard	Standard
						Deductions.
16 ..	3	9	6	....	....	1 Per cent.
17 ..						
18 ..	2½	5	3	....	....	2 „
19 ..						
20s and finer ..	2	2	....	....	....	3 „

Note.—**Dosuti weft to be treated as resultant count,** *e.g.*, 16s Dosuti weft on Universal Pirns as 8s and would have 13 per cent. added as above list.

Two and more fold twisted weft to be treated as resultant count *plus* **two counts,** *e.g.*, 2/16s would be treated as 10s and be paid 8 per cent. extra if on Universal Pirns; 3/30s would be treated as 12s and paid 6 per cent. if on Universal Pirns.

Where two or more counts of weft are used in a check loom the actual average counts to be taken, *e.g.*, a pattern containing 8 picks of 20s and 24 picks of 8s would be taken as 11s counts of weft.

8 picks of 20s = 160
24 picks of 8s = 192

352 ÷ 32 = 11s counts actual average.

SCALE OF WIDTH ALLOWANCES. (List page 16.)

To the Standard List, the following additions are to be made for width of cloth.

*Width of Cloth.	Allowance for Plain Looms.	†Allowance for Drop Box Looms : 2 shuttles.
17″ ..	78 per cent.	125 per cent.
18″ ..	68 ,,	112 ,,
19″ ..	57 ,,	100 ,,
20″ ..	51 ,,	92 ,,
21″ ..	44 ,,	84 ,,
22″ ..	37 ,,	75 ,,
23″ ..	35 ,,	70 ,,
24″ ..	34 ,,	64 ,,
25″ ..	33 ,,	58 ,,
26″ ..	32 ,,	58 ,,
27″ ..	30 ,,	55 ,,
28″ ..	24 ,,	50 ,,
29″ ..	20 ,,	48 ,,
30″ ..	15 ,,	44 ,,
31″ ..	12 ,,	31/34″ 40 ,,
32″ ..	9 ,,	35/38″ 32 ,,
33″ ..	8 ,,	39/41″ 24 ,,
34″ ..	6 ,,	42/46″ 15 ,,
35″ ..	3 ,,	47/82″ standard
36/66″ ..	Standard	83″ and up. 10 per cent.
67/74″ ..	10 per cent.	
75/82″ ..	15 ,,	
83″ and upwards ..	25 ,,	

* In looms upto 32″ reed space, when the cloth width is more than 6″ less than the reed space of the loom in which it is woven, then for purposes of calculation, the cloth is to be taken 6″ less than reed space, *e.g.*, 24″ cloth working on 32″ loom would be taken as 26″ cloth, and the square yards and allowances calculated on 26″ although 24″ cloth is being woven.

In looms above 32″ reed space, when the width of the cloth is more than 10″ less than the reed space of the loom in which it is woven, then for purposes of calculation, the cloth is to be taken 10″ less than reed space, *e.g.*, 72″ cloth working in 84″ loom would be taken as 74″ cloth, and the square yards and allowances calculated on 74″ although 72″ cloth is being woven.

Fractions of one inch to be taken to the next higher inch, *e.g.*, 28½″ cloth to be treated as 29″.

† Additional width allowance on drop box sorts for 3 shuttles :—5 per cent. over the above rates ;

Additional width allowance on drop box sorts for 4 shuttles :—10 per cent. over the above rates.

One shuttle sorts up to and including 46″ width cloth working in drop box looms will be calculated according to the style of cloth working with basis and allowances for those sorts plus 15 per cent.

One shuttle sorts over 46″ width cloth working in drop box looms will be calculated according to the style of cloth working with basis and allowances for those sorts plus 10 per cent.

Repp Heading.—5 per cent. to be added to the Standard List and the following allowance in addition :—

Up to 20	shuttle changes in	40	yards to have 1	pie added for 40 yards piece.
,, 40	do.	do.	2	do.
,, 60	do.	do.	3	do.
,, 80	do.	do.	4	do.
,, 100	do.	do.	6	do.
,, 120	do.	do.	8	do.
,, 140	do.	do.	10	do.
,, 160	do.	do.	12	do.
,, 180	do.	do.	16	do.
,, 200	do.	do.	20	do.

For every additional 10 changes over 200, to have 1 pie added to the above.

Gold Headings.—Cloth containing Gold Headings to be paid at the rate of ·08 pie per pick.

Example.— 30 picks of Gold per piece.

30 × ·08 = 2·4 pies plus 80 per cent. allowance.

2·4 plus 1·9 = 4·3 or 4½ pies per piece.

Spiral Heading.—To be paid at the rate of ·1 pie per pick per piece.

Example.—Cloth with 70 picks of Spiral Heading to be paid 70 × ·1 = 7 pies plus 80 per cent. allowance.

7 plus 5·6 = 12·6 pies per piece to be added.

SCALE FOR HEADING ALLOWANCES, ETC. (List page 17.)

The following allowances are to be paid for short length pieces, but not for dhoties and saries, which are provided for separately.

Cloth with more than 12 and less than 18 simple headings in 24 yards, 5 per cent. should be added; for more than 18, 10 per cent. to be added; with less than 12 but more than 6 headings in 24 yards, 2½ per cent. to be added.

By simple heading is meant a heading that requires not more than 8 shuttle changes.

When the shuttle changes are 9 to 15—3 per cent. extra to above.

Do. do. 16 to 23—4 per cent. extra to above.

Do. do. 24 and over—5 per cent. extra to above.

Coloured Weft.—Ring and Universal Pirns and Cotton Dyed Cashmere and Mock Grandrille Weft, 5 per cent. to be added. Artificial Silk, 10 per cent. to be added. This note does not apply to Drop Box sorts. These allowances are to be made in addition to additions or deductions required by list of weft allowances on List page 15, *e.g.*, 20s universal wound coloured weft would have 5 per cent. added as per this note and 3 per cent. deducted as per page 15.

Crammed Stripes.—No allowance to be paid for yarn extra-dented in the reed unless the average ends per inch in the cloth is high enough to come within the fine reed allowance which will then apply.

Crammed Reeds.—For purposes of this note double-drawn warps (Dosuti) to be treated as an increase in reed of 25 per cent., *e.g.*, 14s warp Dosuti in 48 reed would be treated as 60s reed and have 6 per cent. allowance added as per list.

Mixed Denting.—Average reed to be taken for allowances.

Example.—Total number of ends, say 2,200, divided by reed space, say 28″=78 reed with 24s warp would have an allowance of 11 per cent. added.

Two Beams.—Cloth in which top beams are used, to have an allowance of 2½ per cent. added to list.

Cloth woven on Fast Reed Looms to be paid 10 per cent. extra.

Note.—No provision has been made for rates for weaving Jacquard or Turkish Towel sorts. These lists will be prepared after a further six months' experience. The present rates to continue in the meantime.

SCALE FOR DHOTIE AND SARI ALLOWANCES. (List page 18.)

Eight Yards per pair and over.

—	Counts below 28s Warp.	For Counts 28s upto 32s warp from Uganda or American cotton.	For Counts 28s upto 32s warp from Indian cotton.	For Counts above 32s warp.
		(The following additions to grey plain cloth column in the Standard List on page 13.) of dhoties, in the Standard List on		
	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
Upto 5/8″ wide, plain weave border.	10	5	15	15
Over 5/8″ and upto 1¼″ ..	13	8	18	18
Over 1¼″ and upto 2½″ ..	17	12	22	22
Over 2½″ and upto 3½″ ..	20	15	25	25
Over 3½″	25	20	30	30

For Dhoties Below 8 Yards Per Pair, 7½ Per Cent. More to be Added.

Extra Allowance for Dobby Dhoties.

Cumber Board Sorts.

Allowance for Shafts :— 4/6 shafts — 6 per cent.
7 ,, — 8 per cent.
8 ,, — 8 per cent.
9 ,, — 8 per cent.
10 ,, — 9 per cent.
11 ,, — 9 per cent.
12 ,, —10 per cent.
13 ,, —10 per cent.
14 ,, —11 per cent.
15 ,, —12 per cent.
16 ,, —12 per cent.
17 ,, —13 per cent.
18 ,, —13 per cent.
19 ,, —14 per cent.
20 ,, —14 per cent.

Runner Styles to be calculated as follows.—Total width of border and runner to be divided by two to determine class for calculation, *e.g.*, 2 borders and 1 runner 1½″ each wide—total 4½ divided by two equals border 2¼ and will be costed as dhoties 1½ to 2½″.

Coloured Sarries.—These are to be taken as Standard List according to the percentage of colour and to have allowances for dobby headings and border as in Dhoties.

(List page 19.)

SCALE OF ALLOWANCES FOR FANCIES AND CHECKS.

Dobby Drop Box to have shaft allowance.

Fancy Border Drop Box to have dhoty border allowance.

Double Weft Faced Check Cloths whose pick finding is absolutely necessary, 15 per cent. over above.

Twills to be treated same as Plain cloth.

Drills.—2/1 and 3/1 drills, 15 per cent. to be added.

Dobbies.—As per list with shaft allowance.

(List page 20.)

WEAVING SHED.

Shed Foreman or Head Jobber.—At a rate up to 1½ per cent. of Weavers' earnings.

Dobby Jobbers or Fancy Jobbers.—One for 350 dobbies. Wage—Rs. 60 *plus* 70 per cent.

Dobby Pegger or Assistant Fancy Jobber.—One for 350 dobbies. Wage—Rs. 30 *plus* 70 per cent.

Line Jobber.—One to 40/50 mixed section, one to 50 looms grey section. Wages—on 11 per cent. of weavers' earnings.

Weaving Shed Fitter.—One for 400 to 600 looms according to conditions. Wage—Rs. 50 *plus* 70 per cent.

Carpenters.—One sley maker carpenter per 1,000 looms. Wage—Rs. 45 *plus* 70 per cent.

One carpenter per 1,000 looms. Wage—Rs. 35 *plus* 70 per cent.

One assistant per 1,000 looms. Wage—Rs. 25 *plus* 70 per cent.

Beam Carriers.—One Muccadam—*If necessary.* Wage—Rs. 20 *plus* 70 per cent.

2 beam carriers to 500 looms. Wage—Rs. 19 *plus* 70 per cent.

Sweepers.—If men—2 sweepers to 500 looms. Wage—Rs. 13-8 *plus* 70 per cent.

If women—3 sweepers to 500 looms. Wage—Rs. 10-8 *plus* 70 per cent.

Humidifier Fitter.—Rs. 40 *plus* 70 per cent.

Weft Cellar.—Muccadum—Rs. 20 *plus* 70 per cent. Weft cooly—Rs. 15 *plus* 70 per cent.

Mochies.—One to 500/600 looms. Wage—Rs. 18 *plus* 70 per cent.

Coolies.—(Where necessary) Rs. 15 *plus* 70 per cent.

Beam Painter.—(Where necessary) Rs. 20 *plus* 70 per cent.

(List pages 21 & 22.)

CLOTH WAREHOUSE, CALENDERING AND BALING.

Cutlookers.—One to 200 to 250 looms (including Head and 1st Assistant).

Wages—Head Cutlooker, Rs. 30 *plus* 70 per cent.

1st Assistant, Rs. 25 *plus* 70 per cent.

Other assistants (if necessary), Rs. 20 *plus* 70 per cent.

Stampers.—Head Stamper. Wage—Rs. 24 *plus* 70 per cent.
Assistant Stamper—according to conditions.
Wage—Rs. 17 *plus* 70 per cent.

Number Markers.—One to 500 looms. Wage—Rs. 16 *plus* 70 per cent.

Stitchers.—Number according to conditions. Wage—Rs. 14 *plus* 70 per cent.

Bundlers.—One to 500 looms. Wage—Rs. 15 *plus* 70 per cent.

Scaleman.—One to 500 looms. Wage—Rs. 15-8 *plus* 70 per cent.

Coolies.—According to conditions. Wage—Rs. 15 *plus* 70 per cent.
Duties—to handle all cloth in folding.

Sweepers.—As required. Wage—Rs. 13-8 *plus* 70 per cent. (for men).
Rs. 10-8 *plus* 70 per cent. (for women).

Ticket Appliers.—As required according to conditions. Wage—Rs. 14-8 *plus* 70 per cent.

Piece Sorters.—One for 1,000 looms. Wage—Rs. 17 *plus* 70 per cent.

Dampers and Mote Cleaners.—According to conditions. Wage—Rs. 15-8 *plus* 70 per cent.

Nowganies.—Baling: Muccadum—Rs. 21 *plus* 70 per cent.
3 Nowganies per 1,000 looms. Wage—Rs. 18 *plus* 70 per cent.

Oiler.—One, if necessary. Wage—Rs. 15 *plus* 70 per cent.

Calendering.—Calenderman: Muccadum. Wage—Rs. 33 *plus* 70 per cent.
Front Calenderman: One per Calender. Wage—Rs 18 *plus* 70 per cent.
Back Calenderman: One per Calender. Wage—Rs. 16-8 *plus* 70 per cent.

Head Finishing Man.—If required, one only. Wage—Rs. 18 *plus* 70 per cent.
Where desired, head finishing and calendering Muccadum may be combined.
Wage—Rs. 40 *plus* 70 per cent.

Where a Finishing Master in Muster or Abstract is employed, no Head Finishing or Calender Muccadum need be Employed.

Cloth Carriers, Finishers, Sewers or Silkers.—Number according to conditions.
Wage—Rs. 15-8 *plus* 70 per cent.

Bundlers.—Number according to conditions. Wage—Rs. 15 *plus* 70 per cent.

Folding.—Jobbers.—One to a department. Wage—Rs. 45 *plus* 70 per cent.

Front Folder.—Wage—Rs. 16-8 *plus* 70 per cent.

Black Folder.—Wage—Rs. 16 *plus* 70 per cent

Table Folder—Wage—Rs. 17 *plus* 70 per cent.

Balers.—Piecework. (1) Ordinary packing, Anna 1-0 per bale.

(2) Cross Hoops, As. 1-3 per bale.

(3) Blanket Bales, As. 1-3 per bale.

(4) Special Packing. (Boards on top and bottom), As. 1-3 per bale.

(5) Japanese Packing (*i.e.*, boards top and bottom and sides), As. 2-0 per bale.

APPENDIX IX

THE "RATIONAL" OR "EFFICIENCY" STANDARDISATION SCHEME.

PART I—EFFICIENCY SYSTEM "A."

(As applicable to Mills under the agency of Messrs. E. D. Sassoon & Co., Ltd.)

[*In those Departments for which no particulars are given, the rates as given in the Main Standardisation Scheme (Appendix VIII) apply.*]

MIXING DEPARTMENT.

Number of men and rate of Pay as per Standard List.

BLOW ROOM DEPARTMENT.

One man to two Machines. Rate of Pay as per Standard List.

CARDS.

Designation.	Wages.	Duties.	Machines per man.
Head Jobber ..	Rs. 80 *plus* 70 per cent.	Head Jobber is general Supervisor of all workers and responsible for any change of wheel or Mixing.	1 per 140/160 Cards.
Assistant Jobber.	Rs. 40 *plus* 70 per cent.	The Assistant Jobbers are directly responsible for the setting of the cards and generally responsible for the efficient working of the cards in their own section.	1 Assistant Jobber per 70/80 Cards.
Front and Back Jobber.	Rs. 26 *plus* 70 per cent.	The remaining workers, Front and Back Jobbers, Lap Carrier and Fly Gatherer and Card Tenters or Can Boys work in a team and strip cards, grind, clean, bring laps and feed same, remove fly, oil machines, remove full can and put in empty can. Remove Waste to Willow Department and keep Department clean. 1 Card in each section of 30 cards is ground and set daily.	Staff for 30 Cards, *i.e.*—1 Front Jobber. 1 Back Jobber. 1 Lap Carrier and Fly Gatherer. 2 Can Minders or Card Tenters. — Total 5 Men.
Lap Carriers and Fly Gatherers.	Rs. 16 *plus* 70 per cent.		
Can Minder or Card Tenter.	Rs. 15-8-0 *plus* 70 per cent.		
Flat Grinders ..	Rs. 16-8-0 *plus* 70 per cent. (Single Machine); Rs. 18 *plus* 70 per cent. (Two Machines).	Clean flats when removed from Cards, grind and test same.	1 Man to 2 Flat Grinding Machines.

DRAWING AND SPEED FRAMES.

Head Jobber	..	1	Rs. 80	*plus*	70	per cent.	Number required for 16 preparations.
Assistant Jobber	..	2	,, 55	,,	70	,,	
Drawing Jobber	..	1	,, 50	,,	70	,,	
Doffer Jobber	..	4	,, 35	,,	70	,,	
Oilers ..	..	1 to 3	,, 18	,,	70	,,	According to whether scaffolding is provided or not for oiling Gallows Pulleys.

Drawing Frame Tenters:
Average Wage Rs. 40/41, *i.e.*, 7/8th of Slubber's Standard rate per hank *plus* 25 per cent. *plus* 80 per cent. dear allowance, when working 2 men on 3 heads.
Can Carriers (where necessary) Rs. 15 *plus* 70 per cent.

Slubbing Tenters: Av. Wage	Rs. 38 Nett.	..	1 Man to each Frame.
Intermediate ,, ,, ,,	Rs. 35 Nett.	..	1 ,, ,,
Roving ,, ,, ,,	(See Scale)	..	1 Man to a pair of Roving over 2·5 Hank Roving.

Scale of Roving Frame Tenters earnings.

Upto 2·5 Hank Roving	Standard rate.							
Over 2·5 to 4·0 Hank Roving	Standard rate	*plus*	50	per cent.				
,, 4·0 to 4·9	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	40	,,	
,, 5·0 to 7·0	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	30	,,	
,, 7·0 to 8·0	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	25	,,	
,, 8·0 and upwards	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	20	,,	

Back Tenters in lieu of Doffer Boys.

Slubbing	1 per Slubbing frame	·45 to ·75 Hanks 60 per cent. of his tenter's earnings.
	1 ,, Pair over	·75 Hank 60 per cent. of average of his tenter's earnings.
Inter.	1 per pair of Intermediate frame 60 per cent. of average of pair of intermediate tenter's earnings.	
Roving	1 per pair up to 2·25 Hank roving 60 per cent. of average of his Roving Tenter's earnings.	
	1 ,, 3 frames over 2·25 upto 4·0	Hk. Rovg. ,, ,,
	1 ,, 4 ,, 4·0 ,, 6·0	,, ,, ,,
	1 ,, 5 ,, 6·0 ,, 8·0	,, ,, ,,
	1 ,, 6 ,, 8·0 Hank and up.	,, ,,

e.g. If one Roving Tenter earns Rs. 45 on 4·0 Hank Roving and one ,, ,, ,, 48 on 4·0 ,, ,,
Back Tenter would earn 60 per cent. of Rs. 46-8-0, *viz.*, Rs. 27-14-0.
Bigaries for full and empty bobbins and Sweepers: As per Standard List.

RING FRAMES.

Head Jobber	..	Rs.	90	*plus*	70	per cent.	1 to 40/45,000 spindles.
Assistant ,,	..	,,	55	,,	,,	,,	2 to 40/45,000 ,,
Doffer ,,	..	,,	32	,,	,,	,,	Same as Standard List.
Oiler and Bander	..	,,	26	,,	,,	,,	1 to 7,000 spindles.

WAGES OF DOUBLE SIDERS.

Spindles in Frame.	Twist.			Weft.		
	Rs.	a.	p.	R.	a.	p.
Up to 300	22	8	0	23	0	0
301 to 360	23	0	0	23	8	0
361 to 420	23	8	0	24	0	0
421 and over	24	0	0	24	8	0

All above rates *plus* 70 per cent.
Single Siders: As per Standard List.
Tarwallas and Doffer Boys: Number and rates of pay as per Standard List.
Bigaries, Doff Carriers and Sweepers. } As per Standard List.

Weaving Department.

3 Loom Weavers will receive 82 per cent. of total earnings on 3 looms as per Standard List.
4 ,, ,, ,, ,, 75 ,, ,, ,, ,, 4 ,, ,,

PART II—EFFICIENCY SYSTEM "B."

(As applicable to the Mills under the Agency of Messrs. James Finlay & Co.)

[*In those Departments for which no particulars are given, the rates as given in the Main Standardisation Scheme (appendix VIII) apply.*]

MIXING DEPARTMENT.

Number of Men and rate of pay as per Standard List.

BLOW ROOM DEPARTMENT.

One Man to two Machines. Rate of Pay as per Standard List.

CARDS.

Designation.	Wages.	Duties.	Machines per man.
Head Jobber ..	Rs. 80 *plus* 70 per cent.	The Head Jobber is simply for supervision.	1 per 180 Cards.
Grinders ..	,, 32 ,, ,, ,,	This team does all the work for the Carding, bring laps from Blow Room, attend to cards, oil, grind, strip, gather and remove the fly and sweep their section. There is one card ground daily and one card set daily.	1 per 22/23 Cards.
Strippers ..	,, 20 ,, ,, ,,		1 ,, ,,
Lap Carriers ..	,, 18 ,, ,, ,,		1 ,, ,,
Fly Gatherers .	,, 18 ,, ,, ,,		1 ,, ,,
Card Tenters ..	,, 16 ,, ,, ,,		1 ,, ,,

RING FRAMES.

Head Jobber	.. Rs. 90 *plus* 70 per cent.	1 to 40/45,000 spindles.
Assistant Jobber	.. ,, 55 ,, ,, ,,	2 to 40/45,000 ,,
Doffer Jobber	.. ,, 32 ,, ,, ,,	Same as Standard List.
Oiler and Binder	.. ,, 26 ,, ,, ,,	1 to 7,000 spindles.

WAGES OF DOUBLE SIDERS.

Spindles.	Twist.	Weft.
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Up to 300	22 8 0	23 0 0
301 to 360	23 0 0	23 8 0
361 and over.	23 8 0	24 0 0

All above rates *plus* 70 per cent.
Single Siders: As per Standard List.

Helpers in lieu of Tarwallas and Doffer Boys.

Helper	.. Rs. 16 *plus* 70 per cent.	1 per frame.	To do all the work of Tarwallas and Doffer Boys.

DRAWING AND SPEED FRAMES.

Head Jobber	.. 1	Rs. 80 *plus* 70 per cent.	}	Number required for 16 preparations.
Assistant Jobber	.. 2	,, 55 ,, ,, ,,		
Drawing Jobber	.. 1	,, 50 ,, ,, ,,		
Doffer Jobber	.. 4	,, 35 ,, ,, ,,		
Oilers	.. 1 to 3	,, 16 ,, ,, ,,		According to whether scaffolding is provided or not for oiling Gallows Pulleys.

Drawing frame Tenter : Average wage Rs. 40/41, *i.e.*, 7/8th of Slubber's Standard rate per Hank *plus* 25 per cent. *plus* 80 per cent. dear allowance, when working 2 men on 3 heads.

Can Carriers : (Where necessary) Rs. 15 *plus* 70 per cent.

Slubbing tenters : Average wages Rs. 38 nett	..	1 Man to each frame.
Intermediate tenters : Average wages Rs. 35 nett	..	1 ,, ,,
Roving Tenter (See scale)	..	1 Man to a pair of Roving over 2·5 Hank Roving.

Scale of Roving Frame Tenters' earnings.

Upto	2·5 Hank Roving Standard rate.							
Over	2·5 to 4·0	Hank Roving Standard rate				*plus*	50	per cent.
,,	4·0 to 4·9	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	40	,,
,,	5·0 to 7·0	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	30	,,
,,	7·0 to 8·0	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	25	,,
,,	8·0 and upwards			,,	,,	,,	20	,,

Helpers in lieu of Doffer Boys.

Slubbing	..	1 per Slubbing frame ·45 to ·75 Hanks. 1 ,, pair over ·75 Hank.
Inter.	..	1 per pair of Inter Frame.
Roving	..	1 per pair upto 2·25 Hank Roving. 1 ,, 3 frames over 2·25 upto 4·0 Hank Roving. 1 ,, 4 ,, ,, 4·0 ,, 6·0 ,, ,, 1 ,, 5 ,, ,, 6·0 ,, 8·0 ,, ,, 1 ,, 6 ,, ,, 8·0 Hank Roving and up.

Pay will be 2/3rd of average of their Tenters' pay when on Piece work. When on Fixed pay Rs. 20 *plus* 70 per cent.

APPENDIX X

Resolutions passed by the World Economic Conference held at Geneva in May 1927 on Rationalisation

Resolutions.

"The Conference considers that one of the principal means of increasing output, improving conditions of labour and reducing costs of production is to be found in the rational organisation of production and distribution.

"The Conference considers that such rationalisation aims simultaneously:

(1) At securing the maximum efficiency of labour with the minimum of effort;

(2) At facilitating by a reduction in the variety of patterns (where such variety offers no obvious advantage) the design, manufacture, use and replacement of standardised parts;

(3) At avoiding waste of raw materials and power;

(4) At simplifying the distribution of goods;

(5) At avoiding in distribution unnecessary transport, burdensome financial charges and the useless interposition of middlemen;

Its judicious and constant application is calculated to secure:

(1) To the community greater stability and a higher standard in the conditions of life;

(2) To the consumer lower prices and goods more carefully adapted to general requirements;

(3) To the various classes of producers higher and steadier remuneration to be equitably distributed among them.

"It must be applied with the care which is necessary in order while at the same time continuing the process of rationalisation, not to injure the legitimate interests of the workers; and suitable measures should be provided for cases where during the first stage of its realisation it may result in loss of employment or more arduous work.

"It requires, further, so far as regards the organisation of labour in the strict sense of the term the co-operation of employees, and the assistance of trade and industrial organisations and of scientific and technical experts.

"The Conference accordingly recommends that Governments, public institutions, trade and industrial organisations or public opinion as the case may be:

(1) Should lead producers to direct their endeavours along the lines indicated above, and, in particular:

(*a*) To encourage and promote in every way the investigation and comparison of the most adequate methods and most practical processes of rationalisation and of scientific management, and of the economic and social results obtained thereby;

(*b*) To apply these endeavours in industry, agriculture, trade and finance, not merely to large but also to medium and small undertakings, and even to individual workers and handicraftsmen, bearing in mind the favourable effects which they may have in household organisation and amenities;

(*c*) To give special attention to measures of a kind calculated to ensure to the individual the best, the healthiest and the most worthy employment, such as vocational selection, guidance and training, the due allotment of time between work and leisure, methods of remuneration giving the worker a fair share in the increase of output, and, generally, conditions of work and life favourable to the development and preservation of his personality;

(2) Should carry on systematically on an international as well as a national basis the standardisation of materials, parts and products of all types which are of international importance, in order to remove the obstacles to production and trade which might arise from a purely national policy of standardisation;

(3) Should undertake on an international basis investigations for ascertaining the best methods employed and the most conclusive results obtained in every country in the application of the principles set out above, utilising the investigations already made in certain countries and encouraging the exchange of information among those concerned;

(4) Should spread in all quarters a clear realisation of the advantages and the obligations involved in rationalisation and scientific management as well as of the possibility of their gradual achievement."

APPENDIX XI.

Mediation rules as approved by the Millowners' Association and the Joint Strike Committee.

Objects.—The object of these rules is to secure the consideration and settlement of trade disputes in their early stages, and thereby to preserve good feeling between Employers and Operatives. For the purpose of carrying out this object, it is agreed as follows:—

1. In the event of a trade dispute arising between any member of the Millowners' Association, Bombay, and any operative(s), member or members of a Trade Union registered in accordance with the provisions of the Trade Union Registration Act, 1927, in any mill or mills in Bombay City and Island, other than a trade dispute as to the correct interpretation of the Standard Orders or the Standardisation rate of wages laid down for Bombay Mills which are members of the Bombay Millowners' Association, the following course shall be taken :—

(I) Before any notice shall be given by either party to terminate employment for the purpose of a lockout or strike, the dispute shall be brought forthwith before a joint meeting consisting of not less than two and not more than six authorised representatives of the mill or mills concerned and an equal number of representatives of the Trade Union or Unions of which the operative(s) is a (are) member(s) and such meeting shall be called within four days from the date of a written application by either party for such a meeting; and if a settlement of the dispute is not come to at such meeting or at an adjournment thereof, then

(II) Before any notice shall be given by either party to terminate employment for the purpose of a lockout or a strike, the dispute shall be brought before a joint meeting consisting of two or more members of the Employers' Mediation Panel and an equal number of the Textile Trade Union Mediation Panel, and such meeting shall be called within seven days from the date of an application by either party for such a meeting, and if a settlement of the dispute be not come to at that meeting, or at an adjournment thereof, then

(III) Before any notice shall be given by either party to terminate employment, for the purpose of a lockout or strike, the dispute shall be brought before a joint meeting of the Committee of the Millowners' Association, Bombay, and the representatives of the registered Textile Trade Unions of Bombay, and such meeting shall be called within seven days from the date of an application by either party for such meeting, and if a settlement be not come to at such meeting, or at an adjournment thereof, then either party shall be at liberty to take whatever course it thinks fit.

2. In the event of a dispute arising as to the correct interpretation of the Standing Orders or the Standardisation Scheme of wages laid down for Bombay Mills which are members of the Bombay Millowners' Association, the following course shall be taken :—

(I) The dispute shall in the first instance be investigated without delay by the management of the mills concerned who shall, after completing their investigations, in those cases in which a settlement is not arrived at, submit a report within seven days in writing to the Secretary of the Millowners' Association and to the Secretaries of the Textile Trade Unions registered in Bombay.

(II) Upon receipt of such communication by the Secretary of the Millowners' Association, the dispute shall be brought before a joint meeting consisting of two or more members of the Employers' Mediation Panel, and an equal number of the Textile Trade Union Mediation Panel, to be called within seven days from the date on which the Secretary of the Millowners' Association received the notification referred to in sub-clause (I), and if a settlement of the dispute be not come to at that meeting, or at an adjournment thereof, then

(III) Upon application of either party to the dispute, the dispute shall be brought before a joint meeting of the Committee of the Bombay Millowners' Association and the representatives of the registered Textile Trade Unions of Bombay to be called within seven days from the receipt of an application by either party for such a meeting, and if a settlement be not come to at such a meeting, or at an adjournment thereof, then either party shall be at liberty to take whatever course it thinks fit.

3. Whenever a settlement of any trade dispute shall not have been come to and the operatives are on strike, or have been locked out, meetings shall be held periodically between the representatives of the Millowners' Association and representatives of the

members of the Trade Unions concerned in the dispute. The first of such meetings shall be called within four weeks after the commencement of the strike or lockout, and subsequent meetings at monthly or shorter intervals thereafter. The exact date, time and place of the first of such meetings shall be decided at the last joint meeting previous to the commencement of the strike or lockout.

4. *Special Proviso if only one Union.*—Upon an application from either the Millowners' Association, or at least one-half of the registered Textile Trade Unions, a joint meeting of the Committee of the Millowners' Association and the representatives of the registered Textile Trade Unions shall be called within 28 days from the date of such an application to discuss any suggestions for altering or amending terms and or conditions of employment affecting or likely to affect more than one quarter of the Cotton Textile Mills in Bombay.

5. The Secretary of the Millowners' Association, Bombay, shall record the decisions of any joint meeting held in accordance with the terms of Rules 1 (II), 1 (III), 2 (II); 2 (III), 3 or 4.

APPENDIX XII.

*The Written Statement submitted by the Millowners' Association on the "Rational" or "Efficiency" System.**

A careful survey of the international textile situation made in 1923 brought to light the fact that Japan and China were easily able to undersell their competitors in every line of textiles in which they had specialised. Investigations showed that the principal advantages possessed by Japan were :—

1. The advantage accruing by the employment of women and children on night shifts, which the Textile Tariff Board of 1926 have found to be "unfair" competition.

2. Lower costs of production with, in many cases, individually higher wages than paid in India.

3. Absolute vertical specialisation on certain qualities enabling them to practically control the market in these styles.

Other minor advantages were found such as cheaper power, etc., but as these do not come within the scope of a statement on the "New" system, they need not be dealt with here. Every advantage that Japan possesses has been carefully scrutinised by the Bombay Millowners as a body and by individual members, and attempts made with varying success to reduce our charges to the same or less than similar charges existing in Japan.

The advantage due to what the Tariff Board found to be "unfair" competition need not be dealt with here. If the Japanese Government insist on the full terms of the Washington Convention being carried out in July 1929, this cause for complaint is removed, and in any case, it has little or no connection with the "new" system.

For purposes of comparison, the cost of making a Standard Sheeting of the style made in enormous quantity by Japan is given under various conditions. (*See* appendix I).†

Appendix 1A† shows the cost of manufacture in one of our mills on the basis of costs in 1923.
Do. B† shows the cost of the same sheeting on the basis of 1927 costs.
Do. C† is the cost of the new system with three looms per weaver.
Do. D† is the cost of the new system with four looms per weaver.
Do. E† is the cost on the High Draft and new system with three looms per weaver.
Do. F† is the cost on High Draft and the new system with four looms per weaver.

Labour.—It will be noted, is the highest charge of all (excepting raw materials) but any attempt to reduce the rate of wages of labour in the past, has resulted in strikes to the disadvantage of all parties concerned.

We considered the possibility of increasing the wage of the operative by asking him to tend more machines ; at the same time assisting the operative by introducing better methods of working. Tests were made in several of our mills as to the feasibility of what may be termed "Fordising" the industry. By this we mean the allocation to each operative of enough work to keep him healthily employed throughout the working day and paying him the maximum rate of pay that the work he is doing will permit of.

With the idea of reducing costs and increasing wages, it was essential that we should make a complete survey of the industry with a view to providing every means in our power to make the work lighter for the operative, our aim always being that there should be the same or less real work for the operative under any new system, we might establish, than was done formerly under the old system, except in cases where the operative was formerly employed on real work for a ridiculously low period of the working day.

Our survey convinced us that in many sections of the industry, operatives were not doing from more than three to four hours actual work, and the actual amount of work that could be done in these particular departments could easily be doubled without unduly taxing the worker.

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* This statement refers in the main to the mills under the agency of Messrs. E. D. Sassoon and Co., Ltd.

† These are not printed.

Before proceeding with the installation of the scheme, small experiments were made in various directions and we decided to proceed on the following lines :—

1. Fix standards of production and quality for each machine in the mill.

2. Arrange systematic checking so that these standards are maintained.

3. Fix a standard of cotton for each mixing, below which we were not permitted to go and arrange the quality of mixing to suit quality of fabrics we manufactured.

These standards to be fixed so that the maintenance of the standards fixed for quality, production and machine should not be made difficult for the operative.

4. Adjust each machine in process so that it will work at
   (*a*) maximum efficiency ;
   (*b*) permit of good wages to the worker ;
   (*c*) reduce the cost by making each worker handle a very much increased outturn without being overworked.

As a preliminary, it was decided to pay the worker 33 per cent. to 50 per cent. more than the previous wage for twice the number of machines attended, but conditions were adjusted so that in spite of attending more machines, less than twice the work was done.

In this connection we would point out that in the English List (Oldham Masters Cotton Association) it will be noticed that the rates for two frames are only about 30 per cent. more than the rates provided for one frame and from such information as has been obtained from Japan and America, the total increase in wage to the worker has only been from 10 per cent. to 20 per cent. in spite of much greater multiplication of the machines tended.

We have referred to the intense vertical specialisation adopted by the Japanese and to make the position clear, an explanation is perhaps necessary.

All cotton manufacturing countries use one of the two methods of manufacturing or a combination of both in varying degrees, *viz.*,

1. Horizontal specialisation linked up by different classes of middlemen, which permits of small units.

2. Vertical specialisation in which all processes are concentrated in one hand from the raw material to the finished product, necessitating large units and limitation of style.

The latter is the system developed by the Bombay Mill Industry and is the ideal system for the production of cloth and yarn required in huge quantities, but fails where small quantities of varied products are required, or where flexibility and ability to meet rapid changes of styles are necessary.

Lancashire has almost entirely built up its huge business on the horizontal system while our Japanese competitors have carried vertical specialisation to an extent unknown elsewhere in the Textile Countries of the World. Germany and Italy also have the vertical system, but more approaching the Bombay development of the same ; in fact Bombay, Italy and Germany may be said to be of the same vertical type which gives more flexibility than with the out and out vertical style of the Japanese, but which suffers in the intense competition for the manufacture and sale of bulk products.

Lancashire, America and India have lost trade to China and Japan in grey goods of types suitable for bulk production and it is worthy of note that it is only in this class of goods in which Japanese and Sino-Japanese Mills have been enormously successful.

Bombay Mills are arranged for vertical specialisation and are better placed particularly on the lower Counts than the Lancashire Mills, from this point of view, to meet the intense Japanese competition. The difficulty as far as the general run of Bombay Mills is concerned is that while organised vertically, there is too much variety in the equipment to permit of intensive competition with the Japanese. This is due to the requirements of the internal trade for which the Mills were designed and which requires varying widths and styles of cloth for different periods of the year. It cannot be laid at the door of the individual Millowner who, in the majority of cases, put in looms to replace trade lost in Yarn for China and naturally put in the style and width of Loom to suit his home trade and its seasonal variations.

We decided to try and work a Mill on this intensified vertical specialisation and for this purpose endeavoured to compete with the Japanese 3 lbs. Sheeting or Cabot and Grey Drills. We purchased the Hongkong Mills and re-named it the Manchester Mills with a two-fold object. The first was to ascertain if the vertical system of production could be intensified on Japanese lines and the second was to ascertain if the Manchester

or rather Lancashire method of allocating work and payment could be adopted in a rational form suited to the conditions prevailing in Bombay.

We have been able to dispose of our production but in the export market we were compelled to sell at a loss in spite of realising slightly higher prices than our competitors. In India a very small profit was possible and we are satisfied that more intense specialisation can be made a success if the whole-hearted co-operation of labour can be secured.

It is essential here to point out that no attempt has been made or is intended to be made to establish the new system where the conditions we have laid down for success are not at present possible. Under this head we place the spinning of coarse counts 10s and below and the old system continues where these Counts are spun. In the Weaving Departments the only sections in the whole of our group where the three and four loom systems have been attempted has been on plain or drill Cloth on an easy class of work. On fancy and more difficult cloth the old system is prevailing, and will prevail until we can find means to fulfil the conditions laid down for the success of any new Scheme. On certain qualities and styles we have moved in the other direction by placing *one* loom per weaver, and it is certain that for some time to come there will be very little displacement of labour in the Weaving Section unless we are driven by the continuance of non-co-operation from labour to instal Automatic Looms with which we are experimenting with some measure of success.

Appendix 2 * gives the dates in which the new system was introduced into the various departments in each of our Mills.

Dealing first of all with the Spinning Section of the Industry it will be noticed that all Sections of the Spinning Department of the Manchester Mills (except the Weft Frames) commenced work on the new system from the re-opening of the Mill in May 1926, and very little difficulty was experienced at the commencement in this Mill due probably to the fact that it was a Mill that had been stopped for a long period and there was therefore increased employment and not a displacement of labour.

The Manchester Mill is one of the oldest Mills in Bombay dating back to 1874 and has changed hands several times. On taking the Mill over we spent over six months repairing the Plant and Buildings. Old and out-of-date machinery was scrapped and machinery not suitable for the manufacture of Standard Sheeting was transferred to sister Mills and replaced by suitable machinery either new or from sister Mills. Full details of the system and personnel as compared with the previously existing system are given below, department by department.

Spinning Section.

Mixing Room.—The old system of hand mixing was done away with and a completely new Pneumatic Mixing Plant installed. This results in a much better opening and blending of the Cotton and a saving of labour. (*See* Appendix 3*).

Blow Room.—The old Plant was scrapped and replaced by two Exhaust and four Finisher Scutchers, the number of machines being reduced and the Cotton handled automatically by the machines except for removing the laps. On the Scutchers we have one man to two machines the wage being increased from Rs. 25-8-0 to Rs. 35-7-0. For many years the David Mills had been running a section of their Blow Room on this system without extra pay. The system has been in existence in a Mill in Delhi since the inception of the Mill at a wage at present of Rs. 25. The system was so successful that this was the first portion of the new scheme to be put into work at sister Mills in our group.

Cards.—The Cards in the Mill were completely overhauled and where any case of doubt of the quality of the Card Fillet occurred the Card was entirely reclothed. Additional Cards were installed and the weight of Cotton treated per Card reduced.

A team system as near as possible to the English system was introduced splitting the Cards into sections of 30 Cards or 3 Preparations.

Each team consists of :—

	Rs.	a.	p.
1 Front Jobber	44	2	0
1 Back Jobber	44	2	0
1 Lap Carrier and Fly Gatherer (combined)	27	2	0
2 Can Minders	23	8	0

For settings and general supervision of Cards one Head Jobber and one Assistant Jobber are employed and no other men are employed. Oiling is done by the Front and Back Jobbers and the sweeping is done by the men.

* This is not printed.

Drawing Frames.—Three preparations of old machines were scrapped and replaced by new machines, the balance of the old machines being thoroughly overhauled.

Instead of one man to each head two men were put on three heads. The old wage was about Rs. 33 and the new wage is Rs. 41.

Slubbing Inter-Frames.—The old system was continued but all the machines in this Department were completely overhauled and old machines scrapped.

Roving Frames.—All machines were overhauled and old machines scrapped. One man tended two machines instead of the usual Bombay practice of one machine. No additional assistance was given other than the existing Doffer Boys. The wage was increased by 50 per cent. although the difference in the same system in the English list is 30 per cent. In all cases the increases given were in our opinion too high but were given to encourage the adoption of the system.

Ring Spinning.—The alteration in this section was to place a side boy in charge of two sides instead of one side as formerly, the number of Tarwallas and Doffer Boys being the normal number employed in sister Mills on similar Counts, *Wages* were increased from Rs. 25-8-0 to Rs. 39 and with the quality of work there is no reason why a Side-Boy should not mind up to 600 Spindles, which Mr. Sasakura maintains is done in Japan.

One feature of post-war development in the Cotton Trade has been the rapid increase in the use of High-draft Systems which eliminate at least one and possibly two processes in the Spinning Department. Yarn production is speeded up and Roving Frames eliminated, saving floor space and power which can be utilised for more Ring Frames. For some years we have been experimenting with the various types of High Drafting Systems on the market and have now decided on their respective merits for the type of Yarn we spin.

The Manchester Mills and a portion of the Jacob Sassoon Mills have been converted to one of these systems. As a result the former does not now require Roving Frames and therefore Operatives, Power, Stores or Space for same. In addition, the quality of the Yarn is improved and the Bobbins in the Creels of the Ring Frames last four times as long as before and so reduces the work of the Side-Boy.

Weaving Section

Warp.—The existing Grey Winding Machines were completely renovated and in addition a Schlafhorst "M" pattern High Speed Winding Machine was installed. Our experiment with this machine showed that on coarse counts the Indian operative was unable to keep pace with the speed of the machine and we transferred this machine to a sister Mill where the results are entirely satisfactory on finer counts. The old system of Grey Winding therefore continues and also the old rate of wages and conditions of employment.

Weft (Rewinding).—Universal Winding Machines No. 90 type and Schlafhorst High Speed Winding Machines "S" type were installed to re-wind all the Weft on to special large size Bobbins, so that the amount of Yarn wound on a Pirn was increased from 540 yards to from 1500/1750 yards depending on the size of Universal Pirn used. Rates were exactly as paid in our sister Mills on similar machines and no change was made in the rates of pay or conditions of employment. The employees on these machines are an addition to the number of employees previously engaged, *i.e.*, the working staff of the Mill is increased by the total number of workers employed in this department.

Warping Department.— No alteration has been made in this department and the rate of pay and conditions of work are the same as existed formerly in sister Mills.

Sizing.—The entire department was completely overhauled and a much simpler and easier system of working established. The number of operatives employed remain the same as in our sister Mills. This department in particular is grossly overpaid when compared with other countries. A Sizer in Japan looks after one machine and is paid Rs. 55 per month whereas in Bombay he is paid over Rs. 90 and requires the assistance of a Back Sizer on Rs. 45. There is no reason, with the class of Yarn working at this Mill why one Sizer should not look after one machine with one Back Sizer to six machines.

Drawing-in.—The conditions here are exactly as before but a reduction in the number of men employed has been made by the installation of two Automatic Warp Twisting Machines in which the old sett of Healds from the Weaving Shed are twisted to the new Beam reducing the number of Drawers by two-third to three-fourth according to the life of a sett of Healds. This is to some extent counterbalanced by the employment of a team of higher paid men on the Warp Twisting Machines.

Weaving Shed.—As previously pointed out this Shed is now re-planned for vertical specialisation and only two qualities of Grey Cloth are made—the plain looms making 3 yard Sheeting and the Drill Looms 13½ lbs. Drills. Only one Count of Weft is used in the whole Shed, and headings are practically non-existent. Trouble for the Jobber and Weaver is saved; there is no change of Pick Wheel to be made and no need for a Weaver to worry as to the correct Count of Weft he has to use—any Weft at the Looms goes into any of the three or four Looms he has to tend. For the Line Jobber the whole process of gaiting up is simplified—all the work is straightforward and it should not take more than fifteen minutes for the Jobber to have a new Beam working after the old Beam is completed.

The Weaver is employed purely as a Weaver in that the Warp Beam is brought to the Loom by a coolie, it is gaited up by the Jobber and handed over to the Weaver in a working condition. Weft is brought to the Weaver by special Weft Coolies and woven Cloth is taken to the Cloth Warehouse for him. His work is reduced to reshuttling the Loom on the breakage of Weft and drawing in broken ends. The former is reduced by the fact that the length of Yarn in a Shuttle is increased from 540 yards to 1,500 yards, that is, he has less shuttling to do on three or four Looms than he formerly did on two Looms.

A much better class of Warp is supplied to him and the Cloth is of low reed and pick so that his work in this direction is also reduced, apart from the additional help given by supplying him with Weft at the Looms and taking his Cloth from him. Further help is given in that the Mill provides a spare Weaver for each double section, to help any Weaver who has a smash or is in any difficulty. This man also helps to tend the Looms of Weavers who have left their Looms as they occasionally must with five hour runs. On the quality of work supplied, the nature of the Cloth and the assistance given, we feel confident that any Weaver of average ability could mind six and not three or four Looms.

It is interesting to note from Mr. Sasakura that Mills in Japan are discontinuing the use of Universal Winding on account of the cost of same, although they are increasing the number of Looms per Weaver, whereas in Bombay, Trade Unions are resisting any increase on the number of Looms per Weaver in spite of the expense of this additional process and the assistance given.

Speaking in England, as recently as September 26th, 1928, Mr. Frank Nasmith made the following comment:—

"Throughout the Continent an effort is being made to-day to reduce the cost of production by installing improved machinery and methods. The rewinding of Weft is being very seriously and closely considered. By increasing the filling supply in the Shuttle, the Weaver can attend to more looms—from four to six being the increase in the majority of cases. Less wages per Loom are paid to the Weaver who has no more work to do, often less, and who earns weekly a higher wage than previously. The rewinding of Weft makes an ordinary Loom semi-automatic and in the Valley Field Mill, at Montreal, the automatic weft replenishing mechanism previously applied to the looms has been removed and rewound weft used. Weavers are looking after sixteen looms in this shed, being provided with assistants such as Weft and Cloth Carriers, who are, however, not on the same high rate of wages as the weaver. Making the Spinner or Weaver a full time producer is most essential". (Textile Weekly, October 5th, 1928, page 119).

Line Jobbers.—Instead of an average of 40 Looms per Section a Line Jobber is asked to look after 60 Looms in view of the straightforward nature of the work.

Head Jobbers.—The conditions of work for Head Jobbers are the same as existed previously in sister Mills and there is no alteration in rates or conditions of work.

Cloth Warehouse.—No alteration is made in the Cloth Warehouse except that a few men such as Piece Sorters are not necessary in view of the Mill only making two styles of cloth—Drill and Sheetings—which cannot possibly be mistaken.

The Chief Inspector of Factories—Mr. T. W. Johnstone—took a keen interest in the Manchester Mill experiment and had many opportunities of studying same as he regularly visited the Mill in connection with some special experiments we were conducting on Ventilation and Humidification under his guidance. As a result the following comment was made on page 9 of the Annual Factory Report of the Presidency of Bombay 1927:—

"Wages generally remained steady throughout the year. The most important strikes occurred in two Bombay Mills controlled by a large firm of Managing Agents. An attempt was made to introduce the recommendations of the Tariff Board respecting,

an increase in efficiency as an alternative to a reduction in wages. In at least one of the Mills every effort was made by the management to secure efficiency. Machinery was re-organised and to a great extent replaced. Its lay-out was also improved. Weavers were required to work three looms instead of two, but every facility was given them. Larger Pirns were provided for the shuttles to cut down the labour involved in shuttling. Improved methods of handling the cloth and giving out work were adopted and it is doubtful whether the Weavers had, owing to the improvements effected, actually more work to do on three looms than on two under former conditions. The arrangements benefited the employer and the employee alike. Working costs were reduced but the employee received better wages. The strikes, which lasted throughout August, ended in favour of the employers. The system was extended to other mills under the same Agents but was followed in the early part of this year by a strike in all their Mills to be again followed by the surrender of the employees."

The system was slowly extended to our other Mills, the order being :—

Blow Room—

Meyer Sassoon Mills, Ltd.	July 1926.
Edward Sassoon Mills, Ltd.	August 1926.
David Mills Co., Ltd.	September 1926.
Alexandra Mill	December 1926.
Elphinstone Spg. & Wvg. Mills Co., Ltd.	February 1927.
Apollo Mills, Ltd.	July 1927.

Card Room—

Meyer Sassoon Mills, Ltd.	October 1926.
Alexandra Mill	October 1926.
Edward Sassoon Mills, Ltd.	June 1927.
E. D. Sassoon Mill	February 1927.
David Mills Co., Ltd.	March 1927.
Elphinstone Spg. & Wvg. Mills Co., Ltd.	April 1927.

Drawing Frames—

Edward Sasoon Mills, Ltd.	February 1927.
Apollo Mills, Ltd.	January 1928.

Frame Departments—

Apollo Mills, Ltd.	September 1927.
David Mills Co., Ltd.	September 1927.

Ring Frames—(Weft).

Manchester Mill	January 1927.

Weaving Departments—

Manchester Mills—4 looms—January 1927. Part Sections.
3 and 4 Looms—August 1927, complete Shed.

Apollo Mills, Ltd.—3 and 4 Looms—August 1927.

Meyer Sassoon Mills—4 Looms—March 1928—Part Section.

The introduction of the system at the Apollo Mills led to a strike on August 1st, 1927, at that Mill in the Weaving Department. These Weavers brought the workers at the Manchester Mills on strike on August 5th, 1927. The Strikers resumed work at the Manchester Mills on August 27th, 1927, and at the Apollo Mills on September 1st, 1927, and the System has continued there since.

Shortly before the end of December, another group of Mills in Bombay issued a notice making the system optional in their Mills from January 1st, 1928, and we decided to issue a notice to the operatives in our Mills that the Spinning Departments would go on the new system from February 1st. Trade was in a terrible condition. Huge stocks of cloth were held by many Mills and offers for goods were at prices which showed such a loss as to make it worth consideration whether the Mills would not do better to close down rather than accept such prices.

If the Operatives were not prepared to co-operate in reducing costs it was certainly not advisable for the Mills to continue running and adding to the heavy existing stocks or selling forward at a huge loss. A strike occurred ; the dates of striking and resuming being given in Appendix 4*. A feature of this strike was that the strike commenced at Mills in our group with the lowest number of Spindles per Frame, *viz.*, 240 to 252.

* This is not printed.

The next strike was the last General Strike which commenced in the middle of April at the Currimbhoy Mills and Appendix 5* gives the dates each Mill stopped work. It will be noticed that it was some days afterwards that these Mills were brought out on Strike and in more than one case actual physical resistance was put up by the Operatives against Strikers from other Mills before the Mills were compelled to close down. Although our decision to adopt this system was arrived at before the Tariff Board sat and was in progress at the Manchester Mills during the sitting of the Tariff Board, the latter body arrived at a decision which we maintain advocates the system we have adopted, as a means of saving the industry in Bombay without reducing wages. Mr. Sasakura has given evidence shewing the rapid strides Japan has made in this direction and we attach Appendices Nos. 6 and 7 showing a comparison with Bombay on the basis of information supplied by him as well as from official sources.

The objections made against the system by labour on various occasions have been :—

(1) Physically impossible to work the system without detriment to health ;
(2) Fullest economic benefit not given to workers ;
(3) Unemployment ;
(4) Standard of efficiency of Jobbers not improved ;
(5) Provision should be made for greater facility for Technical Education ;
(6) Provision of proper raw materials.

(1) It is very difficult to counter this allegation as the Mills have never been able to settle down to a steady run through strikes. In addition, it is the experience of most Bombay Mills to date that higher wages mean a higher percentage of absenteeism. Certain operatives prefer a lower scale of wages in preference to increased pay for more work and these men have, in some cases, been weeded out. Appendix 8* shows the attendance on the new System as compared with the old where comparisons have been possible. We maintain that operatives can do the work we have asked them to do without danger to health, in fact, in many cases much more work than the tasks allotted could easily be done.

(2) We have erred in the liberal side in giving the Operatives 50 per cent. increased wage for the increased work. The Tariff Board have commented on this point and we have already drawn attention to the fact that the proportion given is much less in other countries. The 50 per cent. is not all saving to the Mills, in fact, the amount of saving is far less than would be warranted by the position of the Industry, bearing in mind that the major portion of this saving goes in the provision of additional plant and labour.

(3) Unemployment is a national problem and a question that cannot be handled by individual mills. This system is a means of maintaining present employment for the majority of the workers in the Industry and if successful may lead to the re-starting of many Mills now closed down or the partial adoption of double shift working.

(4) The Millowners' Association have dealt with this problem but individual Millowners have contributed plant to the School started by the Social Service League, which to date has not been successful.

(5) Facilities are given for Technical Education. Appendix 9* shows the number of employees from our Mills attending the Apprentice Classes at the Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute.

(6) We maintain that better Cotton has been given at all our Mills for the spinning of all Counts above 10s the latter not being on the new system.

*These are not published.

APPENDIX XIII.

WRITTEN STATEMENT SUBMITTED BY THE JOINT STRIKE COMMITTEE ON THE THREE-LOOM AND TWO-FRAME SYSTEMS.

The introduction of three-loom and the two-frame systems in some mills has caused discontent among the employees of these mills and fear among the employees of the rest that those systems in the course of time might be made universal in the Bombay Mill industry. While making suggestions for obtaining increased output per operative, the Tariff Board made the following observations in their report :—

"In India, the number of looms attended by one weaver is usually two though in some upcountry centres, notably Madras, it is only one. In Japan it averages 2½, in the United Kingdom it is usually four to six and in the United States nine. Even now, both in Bombay and other centres, there are weavers who look after three and four looms. An increase in their number would obviously tend to economy and give increased earnings to the weaver even when accompanied by a slight reduction in rate."

"Similar economies to those we have suggested in the spinning and weaving departments can, in our opinion, be effected in the preparatory departments. For example, there appears no reason why one operative should not look after two roving frames instead of one and we would recommend, as a commencement, that experiments should be made in the direction on frames used for spinning of higher counts."

Those who have studied the report of the Tariff Board will have to recognise that the Board has made these remarks casually and did not investigate all the aspects of the question thoroughly from all points of view as the question of rationalisation was not prominently before them.

But some millowners decided to take advantage of the recommendations without any previous discussion with the representatives of workers. About the middle of 1927, the Apollo and the Manchester Mills belonging to the Sassoon Group tried to give effect to the first of the above-mentioned two recommendations of the Tariff Board by asking some of their workers to work on three, instead of two, looms. The workers rightly refused to accept the new system without being sure that their interests were fully protected and went on strike. This strike lasted about two months and ended in a compromise which gave an option to the workers either to work two or three looms. This condition of compromise was not observed long, the Mills having adopted a policy of retrenching the men on two looms as soon as their beams were finished. The Manchester Mill was subsequently closed down and a good many looms of the Apollo Mill remained idle as a result of this policy.

As regards the wages, the Management had stated that the average wages of those working two looms were Rs. 51 and those of the workers minding three looms were Rs. 65. These figures were worked out at the rate of 5¼ pies per yard of cloth for two-loom weavers and pies 4½ per yard of cloth for three-loom weavers, *plus* 80 per cent. high prices allowance which was common to both.

Towards the end of December 1927, the Sassoon Group and the Wadia Group thought of giving effect to the second of the above recommendations of the Tariff Board. The Sassoons put up notices that the side-boys in the spinning departments would have to mind two frames instead of one frame, as was the practice till then in all the Bombay Mills. The Wadias also put up a similar notice with this difference that while the Sassoons made it compulsory for the operatives to work the new system, the Wadia Group gave an option to the workers either to work the new system or to continue the old one. An increase of 50 per cent. in wages was promised to those working the new system which was to come into force from 1st February 1928 in the Sassoon Group and from 1st January 1928 in the Wadia Group—in the latter on the optional basis.

This innovation led to strikes in eight mills in the Sassoon Group and in the Spring Mill in January 1928.

The workers object to the new systems on various grounds that it is physically impossible for them to work on three looms, two frames or two machines from day to day and from month to month, under the present conditions, without detriment to their health, that they do not get its fullest economic benefit to which they are entitled and that these systems would entail considerable unemployment in the ranks of the workers. If an innovation of this kind is to become acceptable, a proper scheme, which fulfils all essential conditions for the protection of all interests, must be evolved by joint consultation and agreement.

In connection with the introduction of the new systems, the Strike Committee desire to draw the attention of the Committee of Enquiry to the following remarks of the Tariff Board in their report :—

" All efforts to improve the efficiency will be greatly hampered if there is no corresponding improvement in the standard of efficiency of the jobber who overlooks them. The remedy, therefore, lies in the provision of greater facilities for technical education, a point to which we refer in paragraph 68 below." (Page 137.)

" We cannot too strongly emphasise that no increase in outturn from operatives can reasonably be expected, unless they are provided with proper raw material. There undoubtedly exists a tendency in Indian Mills to spin higher counts of yarn from cotton than the quality of the cotton warrants. This reduces production, is injurious to quality and what is of the greatest importance in the present connexion, increases the work of the operative both in the spinning and weaving departments owing to the large number of breakages he has to piece together. There is also a tendency to speed up machinery in order to secure increased production without any alteration in the character of the mixing. This, too, leads to the same result. The introduction of the changes we suggest in this paragraph will undoubtedly be very greatly facilitated if special attention is paid to the provisions of cotton suitable for the counts spun and the speed at which the machinery is run." (Page 138.)

With regard to the condition relating to the efficiency of the jobbers referred to in the first paragraph of the above extracts, the Strike Committee would extend the condition to the efficiency of head jobbers, assistants and the heads of the departments also.

The recommendations made by the Tariff Board in their report are, it will be plain to the Committee of Enquiry, subject to certain conditions, and the Strike Committee desire to point out that all these conditions and others implied in them, as well as equally essential, have not been fulfilled by the Mill Agents who introduced those changes in their mills.

First of all, if such important changes are to be introduced, it is necessary for the employers to discuss them with the representatives of workers before they are introduced. Any new systems introduced by the employers are looked upon with suspicion by the workmen not only because they are conservative by nature but the relations between the employers and the employed being not of a friendly nature and their every day experience in the mill being not such as would create in the minds of the workers faith in the good intentions of their employers, every change is looked upon with distrust by the former. But the Mill Agents, who introduced these changes, did so without discussing them with the representatives of workers and without convincing them that all measures necessary for the protection of the interests of the workers had been taken.

Again, it must be noted that the Tariff Board had recommended, as a commencement, *experiments on Frames used for the spinning of higher counts.*

The spinner who worked two frames or the weaver who minded three looms has been given an increase in wages. Still they are unwilling to accept the new systems. Why ? Is it because of the inherent cussedness of the Bombay workers ? The Committee of Enquiry will not, the Strike Committee hope, be disposed to take this view. The fact is that the workers feel that the higher wages they are able to earn owing to the introduction of the new systems are quite incommensurate with the additional physical and nervous strain they have to undergo, some times they are not even able to earn the expected wages owing to the absence of the facilities and the essential conditions, and, above all that, they are cheated out of a large portion of the wages due to them for increased output. They have also no guarantee that the increased output may not ultimately result in the reduction of the present rates of wages. Moreover, they are afraid that should these systems be universally adopted, a large number of them may be thrown out of employment.

The question about the working of three looms by one weaver is not merely a question of proving by arithmetic that by adopting the three-loom system both the owners and the weavers will reap pecuniary gains. It is possible for a weaver to mind three looms only under certain conditions. The cloth to be woven must be plain, the looms must be narrow and the yarn must be of a suitable quality. The better the yarn the less the number of breakages in the warp. Also much depends on what sort of weft pirn is used. If the quantity of yarn on the weft pirn is larger and consequently the yarn is longer, there are less shuttlings and less stoppages, which helps the weaver in looking after more than two looms. The mills which have adopted the three loom system, it is true, claim to have changed the lay-out of the looms in a manner suitable to the system, but most of the other conditions essential for the success and popularity

of the system have not been fulfilled. This system can never be popular in the weaving of coarser counts of yarn. An expert writes as follows in this connection :—

"According to the old system an operative has to look after two looms. With coarse counts the beam is finished in a short time, say, a week. That means that in a week a weaver completes two beams of coarse counts. Now it is a common knowledge that each beam takes at least half a day to be properly arranged, put on the loom and set to work. It is obvious, therefore, that a weaver has to spend a full day during the week for the preparation of the two beams to be woven on two looms. Under the three-loom system an operative has to look after three looms and with coarse counts he will be asked to finish three beams instead of two. The arrangement of three beams will take a day and a half and consequently the wage-earner will lose half a day in a week, *i.e.*, two days in a month. The situation will be quite different if, instead of coarse counts, the mills use fine counts, 40s and above. It takes nearly a month for a weaver to finish a beam with fine counts. Even if a man is entrusted with three looms, he will lose only a day and a half in a month in properly arranging the three beams."

There is another consideration which renders the three-loom system objectionable in the eyes of the weavers. Whenever a weaver has to be away from his looms for bringing in the weft, for going to the cut looker, for going to take tiffin or refreshment or to answer his nature's call, etc., he asks his neighbour to look after his looms and the latter does so during the short absence of the former, in addition to looking after his own. Now owing to the three-loom system each weaver has to look after six looms at a time in the absence of his neighbour and finds it very difficult to manage six looms single handed, for some minutes each time though he may have to do it. It is, therefore, the opinion of some experienced and successful managers and weaving masters, that it would be easier for a weaver with a boy under him to look after four looms than it is for a weaver alone to mind three looms, provided, of course, all other conditions, *viz.*, those about the sort of cloth, the width of looms, the quality of yarn, etc., are fulfilled. During the absence of the weaver the boy will look after the looms and only if necessary take the neighbour's help. Those who introduced the three-loom system did not anticipate this difficulty of one weaver having now and again to look after six looms.

If the weaver is expected to work on three or four looms, his looms must be kept in first class condition, he must be supplied with faultless beams from the sizing, and to get faultless beams from the sizing, the warping and winding departments would require first class superintendence and skill. To ask the weaver to mind three looms in the absence of such all round efficiency is to put him to unnecessary trouble. In his evidence before the Tariff Board Mr. P. A. Baptist referred to the opinion of the men coming from England who said that in England the weavers would absolutely refuse to work a loom which an Indian weaver has to look after. Mr. G. Findlay Shirras, an *ex*-Director of Labour, in his evidence before the same body declared that an Indian weaver was not at all a bad weaver and he would show the same efficiency as was customary in Lancashire. It is not only unreasonable but cruel to ask a worker to show efficiency in the absence of machinery and material of the requisite standard and to blame him for cussedness if he refuses to accept the new system though offered a few rupees in addition to his former wages.

As regards the two frame system, the causes of its unpopularity also must be carefully sought. It is contended on behalf of the Millowners who have introduced that system that it is not altogether an innovation in the Bombay Mills and in support of this contention the "*double Badli*" system is pointed out. The Strike Committee admit the existence of the *double Badli* system in some mills. When a man worked two sides of a frame instead of one side it was understood to be the *double Badli* system. Usually one man minded one side only and if he minded two sides he was paid 50 per cent. more wages. But the most notable fact in this connection is that though many men applied for leave to work two sides only a select few were allowed this privilege by the management. The addition of 50 per cent. was temptation to some of the workers but the management know that it was not possible for all men to mind two sides and to turn out satisfactory work, and it was that consideration that prevented the management from allowing all and sundry to work on the *double Badli* system. To have the opinion of working one or two sides is one thing and to impose the system on all the men wholesale is quite another.

The two frame system can never be successful on coarse counts. Cotton mixing forms one of the most important factors in spinning and for it the management and not the men are responsible. The quality of cotton and the skill in the cotton mixing must be of the requisite standard if the system is to prove acceptable and successful.

That the weavers and the spinners are dissatisfied with the new systems shows that all the conditions essential for the success of the systems have not been fulfilled.

The workers who are asked to follow the new systems rightly contend that the profits resulting from the system should not be appropriated by the Millowners, and that all the profits except such portion of them as is due to the owners on account of the additional investment made and expenses incurred by them which are not covered by the depreciation fund, should go to the workers, to whose additional labour the increased output is due.

The Strike Committee desire to bring to the notice of the Committee of Enquiry the fact that *Rationalisation of Industry* has become a world problem and in all industrially advanced countries it has become a subject of controversy between capital and labour, and that the introduction of the three-loom and two-frame systems forms a part of the rationalisation so far as the Bombay Cotton Mill Industry is concerned. Rationalisation aims at economy and it is an endeavour to increase output with less expenditure from the capitalist point of view, and increase of the public welfare through cheapening, increase and improvement of goods from the public point of view. The opposition of the workers to rationalisation can easily be explained by the fact that though they see that the first result has been achieved mainly at their cost there are no signs of the second result being followed. So far it is only the capitalist who has gained by the process of rationalisation and has resulted in at least some harm to the workers in respect of health and by way of employment. But as rationalisation is generally accompanied by monopoly by means of trusts and cartels public welfare through cheapening and abundance of goods is hardly realised anywhere and this can hardly be expected as long as industry is in private hands. If evil effects of rationalisation are to be avoided and the expected public welfare is to be secured rationalisation must be under public control, the workers having their due share in that control.

The Strike Committee are quite aware of the industrial competition going on in the world and are not blind to the necessity of reorganising the cotton mill industry in Bombay on a rational basis. The textile workers depend upon the rehabilitation of the mill industry for their livelihood, and they wish to accelerate and not impede a rational reconstruction. But it must be remembered that rationalisation implies certain limitations and obligations, without the recognition of which it may end in chaos. Rationalisation can never be complete if it concentrates its attention on the reduction of labour cost alone. The economy must be all-sided. The economy in labour cost should come last and not first. In this connection, it is worthy of note that 'in Germany in 1927 the most striking progress did not take form of an increase in output so much as the adoption of more rational methods of utilising the energy contained in fuel so that this energy might be exploited up to the very last foot-pound.'

If the rationalisation in the form of reducing the number of hands is not to have adverse effects on social welfare, provision must be made for meeting the uncertainty of employment and the unemployment as the inevitable result of rationalisation in the said direction. Either men thrown out of employment must be absorbed in the same industry in other ways or a provision on lines of unemployment insurance must be made if the workers are to be persuaded to accept any scheme for rationalisation.

It may be said that if the workers do not accept rationalisation even knowing that there is a danger of unemployment they will be faced with the danger of unemployment on a larger scale by at least the weaker units in the industry going out of existence permanently. But it is probable that when faced with a crisis the weaker units, by reorganisation or by going into stronger hands, may be able to survive. But even supposing that the danger of unemployment in any case is real and workers are placed on the horns of a dilemma the workers will at least refuse to be a consenting party to bring about a situation by which a number of their fellow workers will be thrown on the street without any provision. It may be said that the unemployment caused by rationalisation is only temporary but the experience of the world has yet to prove that the danger is only temporary, and even granting that the evil is temporary, the workers knowing that the measures can be adopted to remedy the evil of employment, refuse to be a consenting party to the bringing about of even temporary unemployment unless means are adopted to relieve the distress of unemployment.

Since the worker has to bear all the added physical and nervous strain which is almost invariably the result of new methods, he must be given not only sufficient wages, but also shorter hours, intervals of rest, safety measures, leave with wages for some days in a year and other necessary facilities must also be provided.

It is a common experience with regard to rationalisation or even ordinary work, that the proportion of profit that goes to the workers diminishes as the number of units

he produces over the basic number increases, so that the worker does not actually get the full reward for his harder work and greater skill, and the employer gets the larger share, for which arrangement there is no just reason. Even now in the Bombay mills in which the new systems have been introduced, only 50 per cent. wages are promised to the spinners for the additional work, and in the case of weavers working three looms more than Rs. 10-8-0 are pocketted by the employers per each weaver per month.

In conclusion, the Strike Committee submit that the new systems have been introduced not with a view to secure public welfare but to secure greater profits for the capitalists and even without previous discussion with the representatives of workers, without fulfilling the conditions essential for their success and acceptability, and without offering the workers the just proportion of savings effected, without making any provision for the protection of his interests and without making provision against unemployment. In the words of Mr. George Lansbury, the attitude of labour is "*Rationalisation by all means, but rationalisation under public control and for the public good.*"

APPENDIX XIV.

Efficiencies in the Frame Department.

(REFERENCE.—PAGE 6 OF THE AMENDED STANDARDISED RATES OF WAGES FOR SPINNING.)

The following efficiencies were finally agreed to by both sides on the 9th March 1929. They will be tried out for a period of three months and then revised if necessary in the light of the experience gained.

	Counts at Ring or Mule.								
	4s—6s.	7s—10s.	11s—12s.	13s—17s.	18s—21s.	22s—27s.	28s—30s.	Over 30s.	
	Upto and including 1·4 Hank.	Over 1·4 and upto and including 1·7 Hank.	Over 1·7 and upto and including 2·00 Hank.	Over 2·00 and upto and including 2·75 Hank.	Over 2·75 and upto and including 3·25 Hank.	Over 3·25 and upto and including 4·00 Hank.	Over 4·00 and upto and including 5·00 Hank.	*	Over 6·25 Hank
Roving Frames—									
Standard Efficiency ..	72%	75%	78%	80%	83%	86%	87%	89%	92%
Intermediate Frames—									
Standard Efficiency ..	72%	73%	75%	77%	80%	82%	84%	86%	..
Slubbing Frames—									
Standard Efficiency ..	67%	68%	72%	74%	77%	79%	80%	82%	..
Drawing Frame :—	Drawing rate when working 3 men to 3 heads—⅔ths of Slubbing rates.								

*Note.—The percentage efficiency laid down is for 5 Hank Roving upto but not including 6·25 Hanks. If the Hank Roving being worked is over 6·25 Hank, the rate will be calculated on the basis of 92 per cent. efficiency.

APPENDIX XV.

Revised Tables submitted by the Joint Strike Committee regarding allowances for Weft, Width, Saris and Dhotis, and Drop Boxes

TABLE I.

Weft Allowances—Additions.

(*Re.* List page 15)

Counts.	Upto 5" Lift.	5½" Lift Ring Pirns.	6" Lift and over Ring Pirns.	Universal.
3s and below	52 per cent.	48 per cent.	40 per cent.	22 per cent.
4s	44 ,,	38 ,,	35 ,,	18 ,,
5s	40 ,,	35 ,,	30 ,,	17 ,,
6s	38 ,,	32 ,,	25 ,,	16 ,,
7s	34 ,,	19 ,,	24 ,,	15 ,,
8s	32 ,,	26 ,,	23 ,,	14 ,,
9s	20 ,,	23 ,,	22 ,,	13 ,,
10s	26 ,,	20 ,,	18 ,,	12 ,,
11s	22 ,,	18 ,,	16 ,,	11 ,,
12s	19 ,,	16 ,,	14 ,,	10 ,,
13s	14 ,,	13 ,,	12 ,,	9 ,,
14s	13 ,,	12 ,,	11 ,,	8 ,,
15s	13 ,,	11 ,,	10 ,,	7 ,,
16s .. .. .. / 17s .. .. .. / 18s	12 ,,	18 ,,	8 ,,	6 ,,
19s .. .. .. / 20s .. .. .. / 21s .. .. .. / 22s	10 ,,	8 ,,	6 ,,	4 ,,
23s .. .. .. / 24s	8 ,,	6 ,,	4 ,,	2 ,,
25s and finer	6 ,,	5 ,,	3 ,,	Standard.

Mule cops to be given extra allowance over the above list for 6" pirns as below :—

8s and below	9 per cent. addition.
9s	8 ,,
10s	7½ ,,
11s—15s	6 ,,
16s—20s	5 ,,
21s—24s	4 ,,
25s and finer	3 ,,

The other rates on this page of the amended scheme of the Millowners should be the same;

APPENDIX XVI.

Note on allowances for width.

The arrangement of these allowances should be such that the earnings of a weaver should increase with the width of the cloth, having regard to all the factors involved. The Millowners have proceeded on this principle to a very large extent, but some anomalies have arisen, probably owing to want of system in distributing the allowances for different widths of cloth on the same loom. To make the matter clear it will be best to go into the details of the calculation. If "s" be the speed of a loom, *i.e.*, the number of picks per minute it would lay when working with maximum efficiency, "p" the number of picks per inch in the cloth, and "e" the percentage efficiency of the work, then the length of the cloth in yards woven in a day of 10 hours, *i.e.*, 600 minutes, on the loom would be $\frac{S}{36p} \times \frac{e}{100} \times 600 = \frac{se}{6p}$. This multiplied by the width "w" in inches divided by 36 would give the square yards per day, which would thus be $\frac{sew}{216p}$. This multiplied by the rate "r" in pies would give the daily earnings of the weaver in pies, if no allowance were given. If a percentage allowance "a" be given, the earnings would come to $\frac{sewr \times 1{\cdot}a}{216p}$. Hence it will be seen that for any particular kind of cloth for which "r" and "p" remain constant for all widths, the weaver's earnings would vary with the product "sew", and the allowance "a" should be so regulated as to give a gradual increase inch by inch. The Millowners for facility of calculation have chosen cloth with 44 picks whose rate is 1·5 pies per square yard; as it happens the earnings with this example for a width of 36″, *viz.*, Rs. 43·2, come very near to the average earnings of Rs. 44-8-0 for 26 days which they desire, to give to the weaver. They also desire to make an allowance of 68 per cent. to the weaver who weaves 18″ width cloth on a 28″ loom, and this is very near the allowance also proposed by the other party; this would give the weaver a monthly wage of Rs. 39. Now the product "sew" for 36″ is 561600; in this case there is no allowance and so the earnings will be exactly proportional to this figure, which would be multiplied only by unity. The product "sew" in the case of the 18″ cloth is 302400, and that multiplied by the allowance factor 1·68 gives 508032 as the dividend, which would correspond to the earnings. What we propose is that the earnings for the intervening widths should be graded so that for each additional inch the weaver gets the same addition of a little under 4 annas. This can be done by dividing the difference between the two dividends 561600 and 508032 by 18, and adding the quotient 2976 inch by inch to the lower dividend. The dividend for any width "w" would be 508032+(w-18) 2976, and that divided by the product "sew" for that particular width would give the allowance factor 1·a for that width. The details of this are worked out in the following table. The allowances will be found to be near those in the Millowners' list, but the anomalies would be avoided. It is true that the allowances will not vary evenly, but that cannot be expected, considering the change from loom to loom with varying speeds, but the earnings will be quite evenly

graded, which is what is wanted. The allowances taking the fractions as whole numbers so as to be more favourable to the operatives, will thus be for each of the widths from 18″ to 35″, respectively, 68, 60, 53, 47, 41, 36, 31, 32, 28, 24, 20, 17, 14, 11, 8, 8, 5 and 3.

It may be noted that if "sew×1·a", which we call dividend, is divided by 6336 it will give the number of pies per day per one loom the weaver will earn without the 80 per cent. allowance, and if it be divided by 12997 or practically 13000 it will give the weaver's wages in Rupees for 26 days for two looms, including the 80 per cent. allowance.

Working on the same principles we give in the table the figures for cloth of 64″, 65″ and 66″ width which will show how the drop occurs on account of which we limit the standard at 64″. The same principles may well be considered when revising the allowances, in order to even out the differences between two assigned limits.

TABLE.

Width of loom in inches.	Speed in picks. s	Efficiency percentage. e	Width of cloth. w	Product s×e×w	Allowance factor 1·a	Dividend s×e×w×1·a	Daily wages for 44 pick cloth per loom in pies.	26 days wages for 2 looms *plus* 80 per cent. in Rupees.
28″	210	80	17″	285600	1·768	505056	79·71	38·85
,,	,,	,,	18″	302400	1·68	508032	80·18	39·08
,,	,,	,,	19″	319200	1·60	511008	80·65	39·31
,,	,,	,,	20″	336000	1·53	513984	81·12	39·54
,,	,,	,,	21″	352800	1·465	516960	81·59	39·76
,,	,,	,,	22″	369600	1·406	519936	82·06	39·99
,,	,,	,,	23″	386400	1·353	522912	82·53	40·22
,,	,,	,,	24″	403200	1·304	525888	83·00	40·45
32″	200	80	25″	400000	1·32	528864	83·47	40·68
,,	,,	,,	26″	416000	1·278	531840	83·94	40·91
,,	,,	,,	27″	432000	1·238	534816	84·41	41·14
,,	,,	,,	28″	448000	1·20	537792	84·88	41·37
36″	200	80	29″	464000	1·166	540768	85·35	41·60
,,	,,	,,	30″	480000	1·132	543744	85·82	41·83
,,	,,	,,	31″	496000	1·102	546720	86·29	42·06
,,	,,	,,	32″	512000	1·073	549696	86·76	42·28
40″	195	80	33″	514800	1·073	552672	87·23	42·51
,,	,,	,,	34″	530400	1·047	555648	87·69	42·74
,,	,,	,,	35″	546000	1·023	558624	88·17	42·97
,,	,,	,,	36″	561600	1	561600	88·64	43·2
46″	195	80	37″	577200	1	577200	91·09	44·4
,,	,,	,,	40″	624000	1	624000	98·48	48·0
68″	160	76	64″	778240	1	778240	122·8	59·86
72″	150	76	65″	741000	1	741000	116·9	57·0
,,	,,	,,	66″	752400	1	752400	118·7	57·87

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